

JPRS-EER-86-115

31 JULY 1986

East Europe Report

FBIS

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS-EER-86-115

31 JULY 1986

EAST EUROPE REPORT

CONTENTS

AGRICULTURE

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Briefs	
Awards to USSR Food Program Suppliers	1
Subsidy for Polish Harvesters Buyers	1

ECONOMY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Briefs	
Platforms for Chernobyl	2

HUNGARY

Deputy General Secretary Tours Supron County (NEPSZABADSAG, 25 Jun 86)	3
Independent Workers Earn High Hourly Wages (Ferenc Licsek; Budapest Domestic Service, 28 Jun 86)	4

POLAND

Briefs	
Modular Microcomputer System	7
PLO Economic Head Visits	7
Szalajda Receives CSSR Official	7
Messner Receives UNCTAD Official	8
UNCTAD Official Talks With Wojcik	8
Iraqi Trade Minister Visits	8
FRG Transport Minister Visits	8
Transport Talks With FRG Minister	8

POLITICS

BULGARIA

Army Daily Reports on Dzhurov USSR Visit (Ivan Sotirov; NARODNA ARMIYA, 17 Jun 86)	10
Zhivkov Sends Letter to Paris Conference (Todor Zhivkov; RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 19 Jun 86)	12
Zhivkov Greets Mozambique President Machel (RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 25 Jun 86)	14
Choir Entertains Chernobyl Evacuees (Yoto Patsov; RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 30 Jun 86)	15
Briefs	
Envoy Refuses To See AI Delegation	16
Envoy Received by Libyan Official	16
Officials Attend Conference	17
Central Committee Group in Portugal	17
Talks With FRG Foreign Ministry	17
Khristov Signs Agreements in Havana	17
Doynov Delegation Back From Stockholm	17
Todorov Receives Venezuelan	18
USSR Marshal Sokolov Awarded	18
Radio Agreement With USSR	18
Stanishev Meets PDRY Party Leader	19
Joint Soviet Journalists Meeting	19
Changes in Gavrovo BCP Committee	19

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Daily Marks Berlin Conference Anniversary (Ivan Hlivka; RUDE PRAVO, 28 Jun 86)	20
Communiqué on Pitra's Visit to Portugal (PRAVDA, 30 Jun 86; CTK, 29 Jun 86)	23
PRAVDA Report	23
CTK Report	26
CPCZ's Beno Addresses Youth Rally, Praises Initiative (Prague Domestic Service, 4 Jul 86)	27
Briefs	
Hanes Receives PRC Official	28
Socialist Leader Talks in GDR	28
New Ambassador to Egypt	28
Husak Cables Reagan	28
Prague on Radio Free Europe	28
Bilak Welcomes Zambian Delegation	29

HUNGARY

Hungary's 'Schizophrenic' Human Rights Policy (Peter Martos; DIE PRESSE, 16 Jun 86)	30
Turkish Treatment of Evren's Budapest Visit Noted (Wolfgang Guenter Lerch; FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, 27 Jun 86)	33
Historical Analysis of Danube Federation, Nationalities (Laszlo Illavai; TISZATAJ, No 5, 1986)	35
Need for Unemployment Compensation Analyzed (Laszlo Karcagi; MUNKA, No 4, 1986)	37

POLAND

Argentina's Martinez on Official Visit (PAP, 23, 24 Jun 86)	40
Jaruzelski Receives Martinez Visit Concludes	40
Party Leaders Address Factory Workers (PAP, 8 Jul 86)	41
Messner, Ferensztajn Visit Dabrowskie Enterprises (PAP, 8 Jul 86)	42
Malinowski Receives Australian Parliamentarians (PAP, 7 Jul 86)	44
Malinowski Meets IPU Council President (PAP, 7 Jul 86)	45
Kwiatkowski Views Audience for Foreign Broadcasts (Stanislaw Kwiatkowski Interview; Warsaw Domestic Service, 6 Jul 86)	46
Poland's Worsening Socioeconomic Situation Viewed (Anders Bodegard; SVENSKA DAGBLADET, 5 Jul 86)	47
Medical Academy Official on PZPR Status (Wojciech Pawlowski Interview; RUDE PRAVO, 28 Jun 86)	51
New 'Youth Law' Published, Regulations Given (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 21, 4 Jun 86)	55
Writers Seen as Avoiding Crucial Problems (Kazimierz Kozniewski; POLITYKA, 21 Jun 86)	57
.....	68

PZPR's Muranski Visits Workers in Silesia (Jerzy Zawarski; Warsaw Domestic Service, 8 Jul 86)	70
Muranski Describes Day's Work as Foreman, PZPR CC Member (Zygmunt Muranski Interview; Warsaw Television Service, 4 Jul 86)	72
Briefs	
USSR-Polish Scientific Cooperation	73
Warsaw Telex Center	73
Barcikowski on Council of State Session	73
Leaders Visit Factories, Mills	73
Messner, Ferensztajn Visit Sosnowiec Enterprise	74
Agreement With Malta	74
Czyrek Receives FRG Bundestag Official	74
Rembisz Addresses Poznan Factory Workers	74
Barcikowski Visits Warski	75
Outgoing USSR Consul General	75
RADA NARODOWA Weekly Reinstated	75
Government Presidium on Sanitation	75
Szacilo Attends Silesian Military District Meeting	75
New Ambassador to FRG	76
Ambassadors Present Credentials	76
Kadar, Ceausescu Congratulate Jaruzelski	76
Jaruzelski Receives IPU's Stercken	76
Manlinowski Receives French Delegation	76
IPU's Stercken Ends Visit After Talks	77
Solidarity Campaign	77
Lenin Shipyard Factory Biweekly	78
Young Cubans in Lodz	78

ROMANIA

Volume of Essays by Mainstream Poet Reviewed (Geo Ciocan; SAPTAMINA, No 25, 20 Jun 86)	79
---	----

YUGOSLAVIA

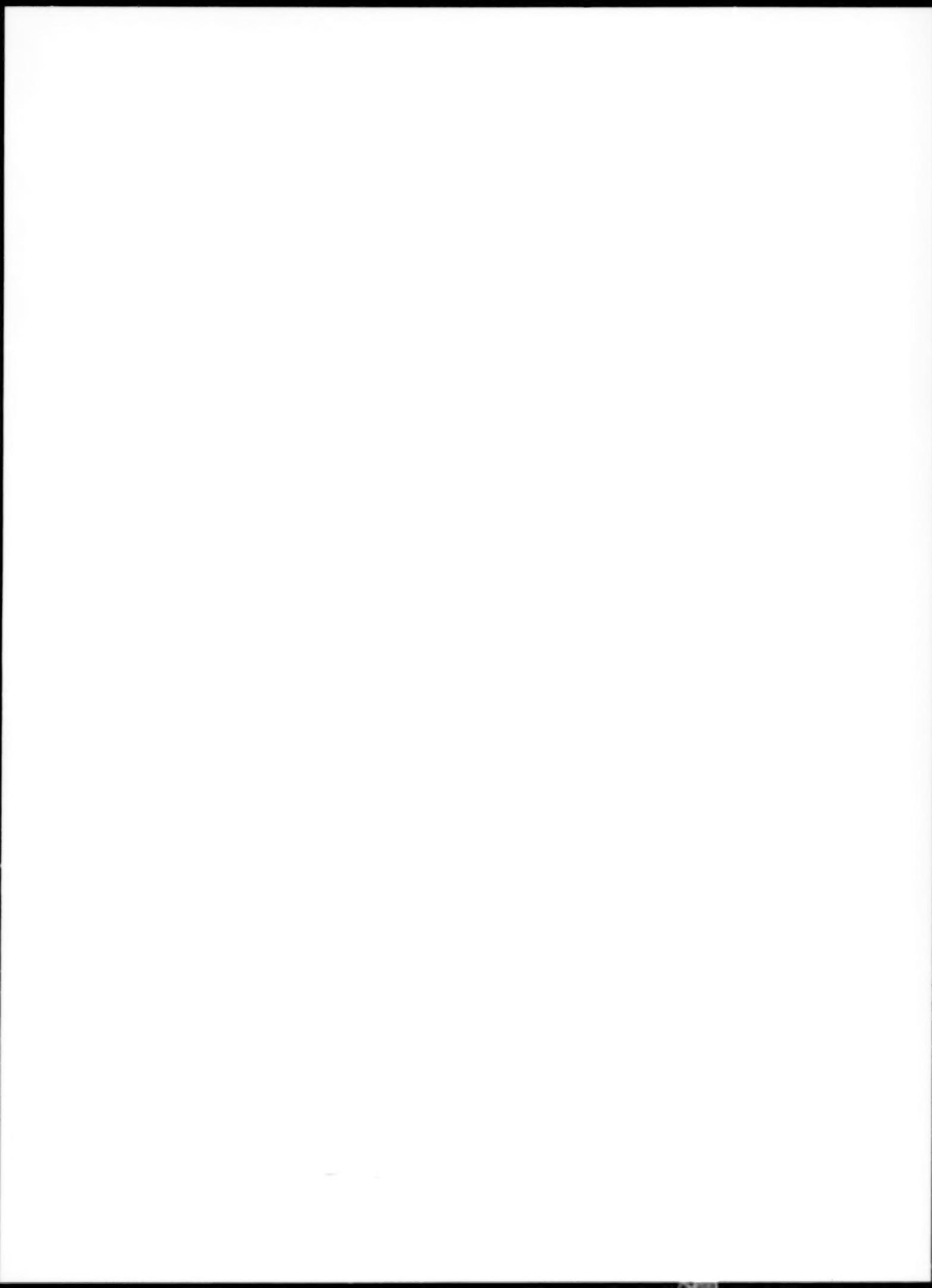
Further Comment on Youth Congress, Ljubljana Student Petition (Milivoj Dragicevic; DANAS, 17 Jun 86)	80
Abolishment of Concept of 'Verbal Crime' Advocated (Luka Miceta; STUDENT, 14 May 86)	84
Slovenian Opinion Research Office Closed Down (Slobodanka Ast; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, 18 May 86)	89
Briefs	
'Independent' Slovenian Citizens	93
Capital Punishment	93
Symposium on Family Planning	94

SOCIOLOGY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPC Plans Family Exchanges Prior to Copenhagen Congress (RUDE PRAVO, 26 Jun 86)	95
Catholics Gather for Annual Pilgrimage (AFP, 4, 6 Jul 86)	96
100,000 Expected Annual Pilgrimage	96
Catholicism Synonymous With 'Mortal Threats' to CSSR (Jaroslav Sturma; Prague International Service, 4 Jul 86)	98
Havlin on Need for Change at Universities (Josef Havlin; RUDE PRAVO, 27 Jun 86)	100
CSSR Daily Refutes Brno Airport Rumors (Jaroslav Kojzar; RUDE PRAVO, 3 Jul 86)	102

/7310



AGRICULTURE

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

AWARDS TO USSR FOOD PROGRAM SUPPLIERS--Prague (CTK)--Representatives of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Union, the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, the Socialist Youth Union, and the Economic Management of Enterprises whose products are used in ensuring the USSR Food Program held their fourth statewide aktiv in Prague on Wednesday [25 June]. The challenge banner for the best results in the fulfillment of orders was won by the Chotebor Engineering Works of Chotebor, which manufactures dairy equipment. Last year, they planned to export products to the Soviet Union valued at 453 millions [as published] in franco prices. They exceeded the plan by 14 million. Diplomas for successful results in the fulfillment of orders for the Food Program were awarded to 12 enterprises and organizations, among them, for example, the CKD Prague Horovice plant, Sigma's branch in Hrancice, and so forth. The "winner of the International Socialist Competition" badge of honor was awarded to 23 individuals, and the "for Successes in the International Socialist Competition" diploma of honor went to seven brigades of socialist labor of Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship. The protocol on the exchange of goods and payments envisages this year's deliveries for the USSR Food Program to amount to roughly R520 million. [CTK report: "For the USSR Food Program"] [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Jun 86 p 2 AU] /12858

SUBSIDY FOR POLISH HARVESTERS BUYERS--Information provided on Wednesday [25 June] at a session of the Commission for the Supervision of Agricultural Work suggests that farmers in the Slovak Socialist Republic are better prepared for this year's harvest than in preceding years. Although they have not succeeded in putting the entire machine pool in order, it is mostly older, 10 to 12-year-old combine harvesters, that remain unrepainted, which would not guarantee success even had the repairs been carried out. The ministry therefore recommends that, rather than resuscitate obsolete combines, for which repairs sometimes cost up to Kcs100,000 or more, farmers should purchase new combines imported from the Polish People's Republic. The Agrozet branch in Zvolen has 190 of them in stock and, following a subsidy, they cost Kcs150,000 each. This has nothing to do with a clearance sale, because combines from the Polish People's Republic will be imported throughout the Eighth 5-Year Plan. Fears that spare parts for these combines would not be available are thus unfounded. [Eduard Fasung report on the 25 June Bratislava session of the Commission of the Slovak Ministry of Agriculture and Food for the Supervision of Agricultural Work: "The Time is Ripe for Stricter Financial Accountability"] [Excerpt] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 28 Jun 86 p 2 AU] /12858

ECONOMY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

PLATFORMS FOR CHERNOBYL--Uherske Hradiste (our correspondent)--The production program of the Slovacke Engineering Works of Uhersky Brod consists of machinery for the rubber industry, high-rise assembly and fire platforms, and bridge cranes. The overwhelming majority of products has outstanding technological parameters. The employees of the engineering works have been achieving--within the framework of the Chepos Brno economic production unit--good results in all monitored indicators. That approach also shows when it comes to the fulfillment of orders for the Soviet Union. Not so long ago, the Slovacke Engineering Works were visited by representatives of the Soviet AVOTOEXPORT foreign trade organization with an urgent request to manufacture the agreed-on 10 assembly platforms of the mp-20-2 type ahead of schedule. The organization, namely, needs them for the decontamination of projects in Chernobyl. The request was immediately discussed and the enterprise concluded a pledge to complete the platforms 1 month ahead of the original deadline. Thanks to the increased initiative of the work collectives, the pledge is to be fulfilled by 30 June, and the Soviet user will take delivery of the order at the beginning of July. ["JK"-signed report] [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Jun 86 p 2 AU] /12858

CSO: 2400/329

ECONOMY

HUNGARY

DEPUTY GENERAL SECRETARY TOURS SUPRON COUNTY

AU260846 Budapest NEPSZABADSAC in Hungarian 25 Jun 86 p 5

[Text] Karoly Nemeth, deputy general secretary of the MSZMP, visited Gyor-Sopron county on 24 June. His program began in Gyor at the headquarters of the county party committee where he met with the members of the executive committee of the county party committee, the first secretaries of the two and municipal party committees, and the heads of the county council and exchanged views with them on the activity in the period since the 13th MSZMP Congress.

Laszlo Lakatos, first secretary of the county party committee, informed the deputy general secretary about the county's political and economic life. He said that no industrial enterprise or agricultural farm in the county had concluded the year with a deficit last year. Compared to the same period of last year, in the first 5 months of the current year industry increased production by 2.5 percent. Although the increase in wages in the first 3 months of the current year was larger than performance would justify, the balance has now been reestablished. The spreading of electronics and robot technology is characteristic of the most developed industrial plants, and several enterprises like the Raba Hungarian Railway Carriage and Machine Factory, the Rekard Agricultural Machines Factory in Gyor, and the Metalic Construction Factory in Mosonmagyarovar manufacture various types of robots for the automation of their own production process and for the market. Speaking about the results in agriculture, Laszlo Lakatos stressed that the stock of pigs for slaughter was again increasing in the agricultural farms and the decrease in the number of cattle had to be successfully halted and an increase could even be expected by next year.

Karoly Nemeth's visit continued in Mosonmagyarovar where he paid a visit to the Knitwear Factory. Director Jozsef Schrempf informed the guest about the activity of the factory, which employs 2,500 workers. He said that the factory would achieve a production value of 1.3 billion forints this year. The deputy secretary general visited several departments in the factory and entered greeting words in the diary of the socialist brigade of the outfitting department. Concluding his visit to Gyor-Sopron, Karoly Nemeth discussed current economic and political issues with secretaries of the party basic organizations at the headquarters of the Mosonmagyarovar town party committee.

/9736
CSO: 2500/364

31 July 1986

ECONOMY

HUNGARY

INDEPENDENT WORKERS EARN HIGH HOURLY WAGES

LD290347 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 28 Jun 86

[Recorded interviews with unidentified worker by reporter Ferenc Licsek, and with Jozsef Rozsa, department head at the state office for wages and labor by unidentified reporter on people market in Budapest, date not given, from the "168 hours" program]

[Excerpts] The scene of our next report is a Budapest market square where the subjects of our report are bought and sold at the going rate, just like professional footballers. Good physical condition and performance are essential; however, when these are given, by Hungarian standards considerable sums can be earned. Ferenc Licsek reports:

[Licsek] What is the name of this market?

[Worker] Well, people market.

[Licsek] Do you come here often?

[Worker] Since 1978, I have not had a regular job. Employers from the construction industry and so on come out here when they need labor.

[Licsek] What is the rate at the moment?

[Worker] They pay 50 to 60 forints to an unskilled man; that is for an hour. Sometimes however, it is 400 forints per day and wine on top of it.

Once I went and worked 3 hours and got 1,000 forints.

[Licsek] What did you do?

[Worker] Pour concrete, but I had to work continuously.

[Licsek] Where is your work card?

[Worker] On top of the wardrobe.

[Licsek] What would you say, how many people are there in Hungary like you?

[Worker] An awful lot. People working in full-time jobs do not earn nearly as much as you earn like this. If you work every day for a month, you earn at least 16-17,000 forints. I think there must be at least 30-40,000 people working like us.

[Licsek] I have heard that there are those who do not find work here. Some people beg to be taken on.

[Worker] Well, they do look at your physique. I am 76 kilos. The private employer has a good look whether you are strong enough. Well, if a man does not look strong enough, he won't be taken.

[Licsek] Are there young people?

[Worker] Unfortunately, yes. Many of them discharged soldiers.

[Licsek] How long can you carry on doing this?

[Worker] This is what my wife keeps saying: what will you do when you reach 60?

[Unidentified report] Jozsef Rozsa, head of department at the State Office for wages and labor, in your view, how many people like this are there in Hungary?

[Rozsa] I have not yet heard the term, people market. I'm glad to hear it however, because a few years ago we were not even at liberty to speak about a labor market, as an economic term; now this has been accepted, perhaps the people market will also be accepted. As regards the numbers, we do not keep lists and in any case, many of these people are registered as working in full-time jobs, but my private view is that there are only about 10,000 people living as casual laborers. They choose to do this because they find it a better solution in present-day Hungary, at least for a few years.

[Reporter] I know that you have long advocated the freest flow of labor in this country, and that people who cannot find employment temporarily should get over even lengthier periods with the help of retraining grants and so on. Could this process be helped by casual work if it were made a little more legalized than it is now?

[Rozsa] I am all in favor of legalizing casual work. However, if we legalized it, casual work would come to an end. Legalization means that those who employed the casual labor would have to pay tax, as well as social insurance payments and so on. What the state must ensure is that there should not be disproportionate incomes. The citizen could not care less about the revenues of the state, but he is not indifferent to the fact that a casual gets 20 forints for the work for which he gets five. Believe me, this is something that upsets people. What we must attain is that both those who employ the casuals and the casuals themselves should pay some sort of tax.

[Reporter] But if you put a tax collector in this square, they just go somewhere else. I do not think that there are as many tax officials as there are squares.

[Rozsa] We ought to attempt to gather in these taxes because everyone can see large incomes being made here. Let us add, with hard work. Let those who like doing this, do it. It is not forbidden. They have to get down to work, hard work, and if they are no good they get fired. These are hard things, there is no trade union committee, interest protection, and that I have several children and think of them as well please. This has a lot of positive features: it brings a performance-oriented professionalism into society.

[Reporter] So we should just tame it a little?

[Rozsa] Yes, but within a framework which can be fitted into the present-day Hungarian income relations.

/9738
CSO: 2500/363

ECONOMY

POLAND

BRIEFS

MODULAR MICROCOMPUTER SYSTEM--Warsaw, 7 Jul--Polish microcomputer of the "Elwro 800" systems was widely recognized by customers and visitors to the Poznan International Fair. It was developed by specialists of the Automatics Institute at the Poznan Technical University cooperating with the Institute of Computer Systems, Automatics, and Measurements in Wroclaw. A Wroclaw-based electronical plant "Elwro" is about to start its production. The "Elwro 800" is a family of computers based on 8 and 16-bit microprocessors which can be used for building various computing systems. A basic property of this advanced system is its modular construction. It is expected that swift production of this computer will satisfy the demands of Poland's economy. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 0910 GMT 7 Jul 86] /9604

PLO ECONOMIC HEAD VISITS--Warsaw, 10 Jul--Head of a Palestine economic organization named (inflexible) [PAP parentheses], subordinated to the PLO, Abu Ala [Muhammad Hasan Milhim] told the Warsaw evening daily EXPRESS WIECZORNY: "We are grateful for (Poland's) invariable support for the Palestine Liberation Organization as the only legal representative of the Palestine Nation." This time, the reason for a visit by Abu Ala to Poland was not an economic one, for he headed a PLO delegation invited to the debates of the 10th PUWP Congress together with representatives of other national-liberation movements. Polish-Palestine economic cooperation was formalized by signing a bilateral agreement in December 1984 and joint operation on third markets is one of its parts. Besides, the talks are advanced on starting the joint shooting of a Polish-Palestine feature film. Its script is based on a story by poet and writer Samieh al-Kassem and it says about the tragic love of a Palestine boy and a Jewish girl, EXPRESS Wieczorny said. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1624 GMT 10 Jul 86] /9604

SZALAJDA RECEIVES CSSR OFFICIAL--Warsaw, 7 Jul--Vice-Premier Zbigniew Szalajda received today Vice-Chairman of the Czechoslovak State Commission for Scientific, Technological and Investment Development Frantisek Brom. The two discussed the state of scientific and technological cooperation between Poland and Czechoslovakia with particular regard to priority lines connected with the development of electronics and biotechnology and with the need to develop new forms of direct cooperation between research institutes. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2042 GMT 7 Jul 86] /9604

MESSNER RECEIVES UNCTAD OFFICIAL--Warsaw, 7 Jul--Chairman of the Council of Ministers Zbigniew Messner received here today secretary-general of the UN Conference on Trade and Development, UNCTAD, Kenneth Dadzie. The sides discussed problems of development of international trade with particular stress put on existing barriers--restrictions and other forms of limitation, as well as indebtedness. The meeting was attended by Foreign Trade Vice-Minister Janusz Kaczurba. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1431 GMT 7 Jul 86] /9604

UNCTAD OFFICIAL TALKS WITH WOJCIK--Warsaw, 7 Jul--Secretary-General of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) Kenneth Dadzie, who has been visiting Poland, talked today with Poland's Foreign Trade Minister Andrzej Wojcik. Dadzie voiced his satisfaction at the hitherto state of cooperation between UNCTAD and Poland and stressed he could see possibilities for its development in many fields. It was stated Poland will continue to act in favour of removing protectionist obstacles in international trade, improving the situation of debtor countries and towards further economic development of developing countries. Also today, Kenneth Dadzie met with minister--head of the Maritime Economy Office Adam Nowotnik. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2110 GMT 7 Jul 86] /9604

IRAQI TRADE MINISTER VISITS--Warsaw, 1 Jul--Chairman of the Council of Ministers Zbigniew Messner received here today Minister of Trade of Iraq Hasan 'Ali al-Nasir, member of the national leadership and the Revolutionary Command Council. Messner and Hassan 'Ali al-Nasir discussed problems of bilateral relations with particular regard to prospects of developing economic cooperation. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1631 GMT 1 Jul 86] /9604

FRG TRANSPORT MINISTER VISITS--Warsaw, 4 Jul--Poland's Vice-Premier Zbigniew Szalajda received here today FRG's Federal Minister of Transport Werner Dollinger. The sides reviewed the bilateral cooperation in transport and exchanged views on the possibilities to expand international cooperation with an eye to creating technical conditions for the development of fast railway connections in Europe. Minister Dollinger is also holding 3-day talks with his Polish counterpart Janusz Kaminski. During their meetings, the ministers assessed the hitherto cooperation between Poland and the FRG in various fields of transport. They also exchanged views on the improvement of railway passenger traffic and on the establishment of new, seasonal bus connections between both states. The ministers also discussed some problems of railway freight traffic. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2205 GMT 4 Jul 86] /9604

TRANSPORT TALKS WITH FRG MINISTER--Warsaw, 5 Jul--Polish and FRG transport ministers, Janusz Kaminski and Werner Dollinger, presented the outcome of their talks on transport cooperation at a press conference here today. A bulk of about 2 million tonnes of destination and transit cargo is presently railed between Poland and the Federal Republic, while inland shipping tackles the total of about one million tonnes. The ministers told journalists they had considered an increase in these figures, which

would require better connections and higher turnovers. About 400,000 people travel by rail each year between both countries, over 120,000 by air, and several dozen thousand by coaches. Arrangements will be made to open a new Warsaw-Munich rail connection, they said. The FRG minister acquainted himself with Polish achievements in modernizing its transport networks through electrification of railway lines, modernization of railway junctions and roads. Representatives of the Polish Transport Ministry were interested to know the FRG measures towards the introduction of the latest transport technologies. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1637 GMT 5 Jul 86] /9604

CSO: 2020/168

POLITICS

BULGARIA

ARMY DAILY REPORTS ON DZHUROV USSR VISIT

AU190935 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 17 Jun 86 pp 1, 4

Major Ivan Sotirov report: "Under the Joint Banner of International Formation" on the visit of a Bulgarian military delegation, headed by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense, to the Soviet Union from 12 through 16 June/

Text On the last day of its visit to the Soviet Union the delegation of the Bulgarian People's Army paid a visit to the soldiers of the Prikarpatsk Military Okrug. In the field training center of this okrug the delegates were briefed on the methods of training for the soldiers under conditions close to real combat. They were deeply impressed by the mobile targets, which are extensively based on automation. The feelings of fraternal affection, the readiness to help, which we have mentioned so often, manifested themselves once more on this occasion. The Soviet comrades not only demonstrated their own innovations, but presented the delegates of our army with various pieces of equipment, instruments, and results of methodical research that will help to make the Bulgarian soldiers' training processes more efficient.

The new methods to be applied on the one hand permit technical equipment to be made constantly combat-ready and, on the other hand, they will ensure considerable savings of fuel and lubricating materials and will also help to save motor resources. This will be achieved through the general application of various types of training equipment and methods, based on a high standard of automation.

The Bulgarian military delegation also visited the area of the tank detachment, where it inspected the material base for training in the barracks and was acquainted with the soldiers' living conditions. The Soviet experience is truly multifarious. Applied to the conditions in our army, this experience will contribute to an increase of combat readiness, to perfection of the methods of training and education, to the application of new forms in party-political work, and to an improvement in the conditions of the soldiers' daily life.

The days of the visit, which seemed much too short because they were filled with intense activity, with interesting meetings and observations, have passed. Enriched by what we saw and heard, by the exceptionally cordial

hospitality accorded to us, and by the new ideas that emerged during the meaningful and businesslike talks, the representatives of the Bulgarian People's Army prepared for their departure.

At Lvov Airport the Bulgarian delegation was seen off by Major General Ivan Shkadov, USSR deputy minister of defense and by Lieutenant General Petr Gusev, chief of staff and deputy commander of the troops of the Prikarpatsk Military Okrug.

An exceptionally interesting and useful visit has ended. In Moscow, Minsk, and Lvov, the representatives of the Bulgarian People's Army were briefed on the Soviet people's life. They visited military detachments and learned from the experience of the Soviet Army in the organization of combat and political training, as well as in party-political work.

During the meetings and talks the full unanimity of views on all questions discussed was once more confirmed. Unity of thought and action for the consolidation of the combat friendship and the comprehensive cooperation between our two armies and peoples were expressed.

The visit which has just ended is a new contribution to the consolidation of the relations between the Bulgarian People's Army and the Soviet Army in the specification of the strategic trends of Bulgarian-Soviet cooperation and of drawing closer together which were mapped out by our communist parties at their respective congresses. As in the past, the Bulgarian People's Army and the Soviet Army will march side by side under one banner, the banner of Marxism-Leninism, in the international formation of the fraternal armies of the Warsaw Pact.

/12228
CSO: 2200/149

POLITICS

BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV SENDS LETTER TO PARIS CONFERENCE

AU232038 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Jun 86 pp 1, 5

"/"Greetings Message from Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, to the World Conference in Paris"/

"/Text/ Paris, 18 Jun (BTA correspondent)--At today's plenary session of the world conference on adopting sanctions against the South African racist regime, Lyuben Gotsev, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and leader of the Bulgarian delegation, as well as deputy chairman of the conference, took the floor.

He read the following message from Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, to the participants in the conference:

The People's Republic of Bulgaria attaches particular importance to this representative, international forum, which is convened under the aegis of the UN organization in cooperation with the OAU and the Nonaligned Movement and which is aimed at mapping out efficient measures for the liquidation of the disgraceful apartheid system, the greetings message states. Throughout many years, despite the appeals of the international community, despite numerous resolutions and decisions adopted by the UN General Assembly and the UN Security Council, the racist regime persisted in its criminal policy and continued to exert mass terror against the indigenous population of the country. The illegal occupation of Namibia and the permanent aggressive actions against the independent, African neighboring countries created a serious threat to peace and security in that area and in the world, Todor Zhivkov's message points out.

Along with the overwhelming majority of the UN member-countries, we support the struggle of the indigenous population of South Africa and of the people of Namibia for freedom and for elementary human rights, which is assuming a mass character. The brutal acts and the provocations of the racist regime would have been impossible without the economic, political, and military support of the United States and of certain, other NATO members. The events of the most recent days confirmed the fact that the policy of "constructive cooperation" is the main support for Pretoria in its aggressive actions.

Permit me to assure you that the People's Republic of Bulgaria will also in the future actively support the efforts of the United Nations aimed at the full and final eradication of apartheid. We fully share the goals of your conference and we think that it is necessary to adopt not limited and partial, half-measures against the Republic of South Africa, but comprehensive sanctions in conformity with Chapter Seven the UN Charter.

I believe that your high-ranking forum will fulfill the task assigned to it by the UN General Assembly and will contribute to an even greater mobilization of the collective efforts of the international community for the final liquidation of apartheid and for the restoration of the rights and dignity of the indigenous population in South Africa, the message states in conclusion.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov's message was heard with great attention and accompanied by applause. It was included as an official document in this high-ranking and responsible forum of the UN member-countries.

/12228
CSO: 2200/149

POLITICS

BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV GREETES MOZAMBIQUE PRESIDENT MACHEL

AU300827 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Jun 86 pp 1, 4

/Text/ Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, has sent a greetings telegram to Samora Moises Machel, chairman of the Mozambique Liberation Front /FRELIMO/ Party and president of the People's Republic of Mozambique, on the occasion of his country's National Day.

During 11 years of free development the people of Mozambique, under the leadership of their revolutionary FRELIMO Party, have achieved substantial successes in the struggle to overcome the severe effects of colonialism and to implement progressive reforms in the country along the path of building the new society, the greetings message points out. At the same time, the people of Mozambique are obliged to defend their revolutionary achievements with arms in their hands, and to protect the independence and national sovereignty of their free fatherland from the encroachments of the imperialist and racist forces and their lackeys within Mozambique, who are striving to divert the country from its chosen progressive path of development.

The telegram voices confidence that in this just and noble struggle, with which all progressive forces in the world are in solidarity, the heroic people of Mozambique will repulse in a worthy manner the internal and external enemies of the revolution and succeed in confounding the cunning plans and designs of imperialism.

It is pointed out that by its peaceloving, anti-imperialist, anticolonialist, and antiracist foreign policy the People's Republic of Mozambique has deservedly won authority in the international arena and earned the respect of all progressive and democratic forces in the world.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov expressed satisfaction with the ascending development of the relations of fraternal friendship, solidarity, and cooperation between our two parties, states, and peoples, and voiced confidence that in the future they will continue to expand and deepen on the basis of the treaty of friendship and cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and Mozambique, in the interest of the two peoples, and in the name of our common struggle against imperialism, racism, and apartheid, for lasting peace, security, and progress in the world.

/12228
CSO: 2200/149

POLITICS

BULGARIA

CHOIR ENTERTAINS CHERNOBYL EVACUEES

AU011231 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 30 Jun 86 p 5

/Article by RABOTNICHESKO DELO Special Correspondent Yoto Patsov: "Songs on Friendship"/

/Excerpt/ Town of Makarov, Kiev Oblast, 29 Jun--In the village of Fasovaya the family of Hidzevatiy, who lives there, gave up its new house to people evacuated from the Chernobyl region. There are many similar instances in the town of Makarov, the village of Andreyevka, and many other places.

Such acts cause no surprise to anyone here, because they are the norm of the attitude toward the people affected by the accident /avariya/. No one sees anything exceptional even in the fact that the workers of the construction detachments from all oblasts of the Ukraine who are working here are fulfilling their norms twice and three times over. In the region of the town of Makarov alone 2,035 houses will be completely ready by September this year for emigrants from the Chernobyl region. No one is sparing himself in any way in eliminating the consequences of the accident. Up to yesterday, the inhabitants of Makarov Rayon had alone contributed 44,000 rubles to the fund to aid the victims. There is continuous flow of vehicles bringing building materials, goods, and food. And it seems quite natural for the singers from the notable "Dunavski Zvutsi" choir attached to the "Angel Kunchev" model people's reading room in Ruse to have joined in this united impulse of the vast country. By their own wish they added to their tour program a concert in the town of Makarov for the emigrants from the Chernobyl zone and the workers and specialists who are toiling to eliminate the consequences of the accident.

Festively welcomed with bread and salt in the new house of culture of the Makarov regional center, the Bulgarian choir singers had the excitement of being applauded by many of heroes who set off first to the site of the accident; by representatives of the 10,000-strong team of construction workers and specialists who are working on the building and landscaping of the residential quarters for the emigrants; and by hundreds of evacuated citizens from the region of Chernobyl.

/12228
CSO: 2200/149

31 July 1986

POLITICS

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

ENVoy REFUSES TO SEE AI DELEGATION--Vienna, 24 Jun (AFP)--Bulgarian Ambassador to Austria Christo Dorchev refused here Tuesday to see an Amnesty International (AI) delegation calling for release of 13 Bulgarians imprisoned for "ethnic reasons," Amnesty said. The delegation wanted to deliver a petition by 5,851 Austrians, which said the 13 had been held for over a year without trial for protesting peacefully against "forced assimilation" of Bulgaria's 800,000-strong Turkish minority. But Mr Dorchev agreed to see Austrian populist Mr Josef Hoechtl, who was with the delegation and explained the petition's contents. According to Mr Hoechtl, the 75-minute meeting took place "in an extremely excited atmosphere and a very loud voice." Mr Dorchev denied the 13 named in the petition were imprisoned, and charged "unlawful interference in Bulgaria's internal affairs," Mr Hoechtl said. Amnesty's Austrian section says Bulgaria's Turkish minority has been subjected to forced assimilation including "Bulgarising" of Turkish names, with members of the minority opposing it subject to violent repression. /Text/ /Paris AFP in English 1238 GMT 24 Jun 86 AU/ 12228

ENVoy RECEIVED BY LIBYAN OFFICIAL--Tripoli, 18 Shawal, 24 Jun, Jamahiriyyah News Agency--This morning, the secretary of the General People's Committee for Information and Culture received Mr Filip Ishpekov the ambassador of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to Great Jamahiriyyah. In the meeting discussed were aspects of promoting informational and cultural cooperation and the emphasis on the role of the two friendly countries' media in promoting Arab issues and the role of the socialist states in standing with the Libyan Arab people to confront all conspiracies plotted by U.S. imperialism and also to expose and refute western and Zionist media and their attempts to twist the truths of the world public opinion and their attempts to deny the efforts of the socialist states, led by the friendly Soviet Union, to promote Arab and international issues. Also during the meeting certain interest was given to develop the relations of joint cooperation in cultural and informational fields, exchange of various informational programs and visits and the laying of new foundations for this cooperation in a way that serves the joint goals and interests of the two friendly peoples. /Text/ /Tripoli JANA in Arabic 1742 GMT 24 Jun 86 LD/ 12228

OFFICIALS ATTEND CONFERENCE--A military-scientific conference took place in one of the military detachments of our army yesterday. It was attended by Colonel General Atanas Semerdzhiev, first deputy minister of national defense, commander in chief of the Bulgarian People's Army General Staff; Colonel General Mitko Mitkov, chief of the People's Army Main Political Administration. Colonel General Aleksandur Zvartsev, representative of the commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact states, was also among those present. The basic report, the coreports, and statements by officers Stefanov, Andreev, Kralikov, Toshkov, Bantutov, Danov, Marinov, Kotsev, and others were based on important military-theoretical postulates and on the practical experience of different army exercises. They comprehensively discussed certain topical questions of the combat training of the troops under present-day conditions. Important conclusions were drawn and practical measures were mapped out for further enhancing the combat readiness and fighting capacity of the detachments in operating under the most complicated conditions. /Text/ /Sofia NARODNA ARMYA in Bulgarian 25 Jun 86 p 1 AU/ 12228

CENTRAL COMMITTEE GROUP IN PORTUGAL--Sofia, 29 Jun (BTA)--A working group of the CC of the BCP visited Portugal at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party. The delegation was familiarized with the work of the Portuguese Communists in the party organizations, in the mass organizations, in the local administration in various regions of the country. The representatives of the CC of the BCP were received by Mr Domingo Abrantes, member of the Political Commission of the CC of the Portuguese Communist Party. /Text/ /Sofia BTA in English 1728 GMT 29 Jun 86 AU/ 12228

TALKS WITH FRG FOREIGN MINISTRY--Sofia, 1 Jul (BTA)--Delegations of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria, headed by Ambassador Dimitur Kostov, chief of department, and of the FRG, headed by Ambassador Friedrich Ruth, special envoy of the federal government, completed their consultations on topical issues of disarmament and security in Sofia today. The FRG delegation was received by Mr Lyuben Gotsev, deputy minister of foreign affairs. /Text/ /Sofia BTA in English 1744 GMT 1 Jul 86 AU/ 12228

KHRISTOV SIGNS AGREEMENTS IN HAVANA--Havana, 28 Jun (BTA correspondent)--Mr Khristo Khristov, minister of trade of Bulgaria, and Mr Ricardo Cabrizas Ruiz, minister of foreign trade and Mr Ernesto Melendez, chairman of the State Committee for Economic Cooperation, signed documents on economic and trade cooperation between Bulgaria and Cuba, and a long-term agreement on trade exchange and payments for the 1986-1990 period. These documents envisage a 30 percent increase compared to the preceding period, a broadening of economic ties and socialist integration, and improvement of the variety and structure of the barter that should come about as a result of the integration processes in different fields of the two countries' economies. Mr Khristo Khristov was received by Dr Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, vice president of the State Council and the Council of Ministers. /Text/ /Sofia BTA in English 1626 GMT 28 Jun 86 AU/ 12228

DOYNOV DELEGATION BACK FROM STOCKHOLM--Sofia, 28 Jun (BTA)--The Bulgarian economic delegation headed by Mr Ogyan Doynov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Economic Council, returned from Sweden today.

During its visit there the delegation discussed certain matters related to the broadening of the bilateral cooperation between Bulgarian and Swedish firms. Mr Doynov held talks with Mr Sten Anderson, Swedish minister of foreign affairs, and with Mr Thage Peterson, minister of industry. The delegation also met with the chief executives of the companies ASEA, Hexagon, Nobel Industries, and Ericson. The talks centered on the broadening of the contacts in the fields of metallurgy, electronics, biotechnologies, the electrical and chemical industries. /Text/ /Sofia BTA in English 1735 GMT 28 Jun 86 AU/ 12228

TODOROV RECEIVES VENEZUELAN--Sofia, 1 Jul (BTA)--Mr Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, received today Senator Ruben Carpio, chairman of the Foreign Policy Commission with the Congress of Venezuela and leading member of the Action Democratic Party. The senator is visiting the country at the invitation of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party. The two politicians discussed the prospects for the more active development of the bilateral relations and noted the significance in this context of the parliamentary contacts. They stressed the need to unite the progressive forces of the Latin American countries for the finding of a peaceful solution to the conflict in Central America and expressed the common view that the problem of the preservation of peace, the curbing of the arms race and the prevention of a nuclear war, is the most important one of our time. /Text/ /Sofia BTA in English 1754 GMT 1 Jul 86 AU/ 12228

USSR MARSHAL SOKOLOV AWARDED--Sofia, 1 Jul (BTA)--The State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria awarded the Georgi Dimitrov Order to Marshal Sergey Leonidovich Sokolov, alternate member of the Politburo of the CC of the CPSU and minister of defense of the USSR. This is a sign of recognition of his contribution to the strengthening of the cooperation between the Soviet and Bulgarian armies, the further improvement of the friendship and fraternity between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and in connection with his 75th birthday. /Text/ /Sofia BTA in English 1741 GMT 1 Jul 86 AU/ 12228

RADIO AGREEMENT WITH USSR--From 23 to 27 June a delegation of the Committee for Television and Radio led by its chairman, Lalyu Dimitrov, has been on a visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting. A new long-term agreement was signed between the two committees for cooperation in the fields of television and radio broadcasting, as well as a working protocol for the 1986-87 period. The documents provide for the further development of bilateral cooperation, the raising of its quality and effectiveness, and expansion of the exchange of television and radio materials on life in the Soviet Union and Bulgaria and on the fraternal friendship between our two countries. Particular attention was given to the administration of the fulfillment of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 13th BCP Congress, as well as to the preparations for the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. During the delegation's visit Lalyu Dimitrov, the chairman of the Bulgarian Committee for Television and Radio, was received by Aleksandr Yakovlev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. /Text/ /Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 27 Jun 86 AU/ 12228

STANISHEV MEETS PDRY PARTY LEADER--Comrade Dimitur Stanishev met Salim Salih Muhammad, deputy general secretary of the Yemeni Socialist Party Central Committee. They exchanged information on the main tasks which the two parties are solving at the present stage and on topics connected with the further development of the friendly relations between the parties and between Bulgaria and Democratic Yemen. Topical problems were discussed relating to the world situation, especially in the Middle East region. /Text/ /Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 27 Jun 86 AU/ 12228

JOINT SOVIET JOURNALISTS MEETING--A joint meeting was held today between the leadership of the Bulgarian Journalists Union and the USSR Union of Journalists. The subject of the meeting was the activities of the journalists unions in the light of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 13th BCP Congress. Veselin Yosifov, chairman of the Bulgarian Journalists Union, made an introductory speech in which he stressed that in the decisions of the two countries' party congresses great attention was devoted to journalism, so that it may contribute to a new ideological and political atmosphere. Ivan Zubkov, deputy chairman of the USSR Union of Journalists pointed out that the changes occurring in the sociopolitical and economic life are assigning even more responsible tasks to the words indistinct. The reports and statements which followed these introductory addresses confirmed the stand that the 27th CPSU Congress and the 13th BCP Congress demand a drastic change in the structure and entire activities of the creative journalists' organizations. /Text/ /Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 24 Jun 86 AU/ 12228

CHANGES IN GAVROVO BCP COMMITTEE-Gabrovo, 19 Jun (RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent's report)--A plenum of the BCP Okrug Committee in Gabrovo was held today. Organizational questions were discussed. Because of his election to the post of First Secretary of the BCP Municipal Committee in the town of Gabrovo, Nedko Nedkov, secretary of the BCP Okrug Committee, was relieved from his post. Georgi Grigorov, former deputy chairman of the Okrug People's Council Executive Committee was elected secretary of the Gabrovo Okrug BCP Committee. /Text/ /Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 20 Jun 86 p 6 AU/ 12228

CSO: 2200/149

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

DAILY MARKS BERLIN CONFERENCE ANNIVERSARY

AU011206 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Jun 86 p 6

[Article by Ivan Hlivka: "For a Europe of Lasting Peace and Social Progress; On the 10th Anniversary of the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers Parties"--passages between slantlines published in boldface]

[Excerpts] /An important event in the history of the Communist movement and the European continent took place 10 years ago, at the end of June 1976, in the GDR capital Berlin. Delegations of 29 parties representing almost 30 million European Communists met to discuss current problems of international development and their strategy and tactics in the struggle for peace and social progress. The very fact that the conference was convened and that its participants adopted a final document confirmed the viability of international ties among European Communists and refuted claims about the "disappearance" of the Communist movement as an international force./

At the conference Communist parties presented a comprehensive program of the struggle for peace and proposed a set of measures to halt the arms race, eliminate the threat of a nuclear war, weaken the military contest, develop mutually advantageous cooperation, and contribute to improved understanding among nations.

The solidarity of Communist parties on important political and ideological questions of the revolutionary process was affirmed and the unity of Communists on questions concerning the relationship between the struggle for peace and social progress was demonstrated.

The importance of the conference stands out not only in connection with the solution of the problems because of which it was convened, but also in connection with the tasks which it set for European Communists for the future.

The seventies were marked by a number of important successes in the revolutionary process. Fascist dictatorships in Portugal, Spain, and Greece were overthrown. The international situation began to change for the better: Major problems that had been poisoning the international

atmosphere, including problems that had remained unresolved since the end of World War II, were solved by way of negotiations. The seventies became a period of growing strength and political influence of the countries of the socialist community.

All of this had its impact on the Communist parties. A number of new tasks arose before them, the solution of which was not within the power of individual parties. The need to exchange international experience arose. In the leaderships of some Communist parties, the successes achieved in detente resulted in an underestimation of the need for a mass movement in the defense of peace. Vigilance towards new plans and operations of imperialist circles abated in some places. The positive shifts in the international situation of the first half of the seventies required of Communists that they analyze more profoundly the relationship between struggle for peace and class struggle and the role of the struggle against militarism in their strategy and tactics.

Sectarian-dogmatic views denying the revolutionary nature of the struggle for peace still survived in some places. Ultraleftist forces were trying to foist upon the revolutionary movement the false proposition that, supposedly, the foreign political interests of the USSR and other socialist countries were not identical with the interests of the movement. To a certain degree this was projected into theoretical conclusions confining the development of the revolutionary process to the national framework and isolating it from ties with other revolutionary forces, particularly with the world socialist community.

In interpreting the problems of war and peace, the statements of representatives of some Communist parties began to show a tendency to negate the class sources of the threat to peace and to reduce the problem to "competition between superpowers" or "struggle between antagonistic blocs." In terms of its consequences, this could have undermined solidarity between forces advocating peaceful coexistence and weakened their struggle against the forces of militarism.

The international political conditions of the seventies required of Communist parties /the best possible utilization of the new correlation of forces in the world and, at the same time, great vigilance toward the counterrevolutionary activity of international reaction and the ability to ward off its actions./

Historical Importance of the Conference

The historical importance of the Berlin conference lies in the fact that in its final document, which was based on extensive discussions of almost 2 years, it confirmed the /solidarity of European Communist parties on a number of important political and ideological questions of the revolutionary process./

It was stressed that /peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems does not at all mean "the preservation of the political and social status quo in one country or another but, on the contrary, establishes the best conditions for the development of the struggle of the workers class and all democratic forces, for enforcing the inalienable right of each nation to freely choose the path of its development and to tread this path, and for struggle against the supremacy of monopolies, for socialism."/

Although the pronouncements of individual delegations at the conference demonstrated differences in the perception of some political and ideological issues, it was not conflict that was the determining feature of the work of the conference but the endeavor to work out a joint platform and to reinforce international solidarity among Communists. The conference contributed to developing and specifying the internationalist foundations of the Communist movement.

The conclusions of the conference proved to be useful in dealing with the tasks that emerged before Communist parties in the complicated international and internal situation that arose after the conference and which lasts to this very day. It is apparent that many parties, especially the West German, Danish, Portuguese, Greek, Cypriot, and other parties have enhanced their fact-finding and theoretical abilities and are capable of analyzing developments at home and in the world, and hence also of formulating their policies, more profoundly than formerly.

Communist parties are registering new successes in their policy and targets. However, they are also coming across new and more complex problems. Such is the logic of social life, of international class struggle. /The authority, influence, and independent role of Communist parties in the political struggle are directly dependent on their initiative and consistency in the resistance to imperialism, on the firmness of their ties with all anti-imperialist forces, and, above all, on the unity of the Communist movement as an international force./ That is the lesson to be drawn from the period after the Berlin conference. As representatives of a number of parties stress with growing frequency, the European Communist movement (just like the movement as a whole) should display a greater degree of activity in order to deepen mutual understanding, strengthen friendship, and enhance its ability to act. Only in this way will it be fully able to live up to its historic mission.

/12858
CSO: 2400/329

31 July 1986

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

COMMUNIQUE ON PITRA'S VISIT TO PORTUGAL**PRAVDA Report**

AU011257 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 30 Jun 86 p 4

[CTK Lisbon dispatch: "The Most Important Thing Is Struggle for Peace; Communique on CPCZ Central Committee Delegation's Talks With a Delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Portugal"]

[Text] Lisbon (CTK)--A CPCZ Central Committee delegation led by Frantisek Pitra, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, paid a visit to Portugal from 23 to 29 June at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Portugal [PCP]. Delegation members were Ondrej Saling, secretary of the West Slovak CPSL Regional Committee, and Dimitrij Bilak, staff member of the CPCZ Central Committee International Affairs Department. A joint communique was released at the end of the visit, which states:

During the visit, the CPCZ Central Committee delegation held talks with a PCP Central Committee delegation led by PCP Secretary General Alvaro Cunhal. The Portuguese delegation consisted furthermore of Carlos Costa, member of the Political Commission and secretary of the PCP Central Committee, and Domingos Lopes, candidate member of the PCP Central Committee.

During the talks, the delegations exchanged information on the situation in the two countries and the activities of their parties. They exchanged views on some aspects of the international situation and the international Communist and workers movement. The PCP Central Committee delegation briefed the Czechoslovak guests on the struggle waged by Portuguese Communists to halt the counterrevolutionary process; defend the gains of the April revolution of 1974, of the democratic regime, and of national independence; and achieve a democratic alternative to the policy of the present right-wing government.

The CPCZ Central Committee delegation briefed the Portuguese Communists on the efforts of the CPCZ and the entire Czechoslovak society to implement the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress, which laid down the strategic line of accelerating the socioeconomic development of the CSSR.

In the recent elections, the working people expressed their unequivocal support for this policy.

The foreign political activity of Czechoslovak Communists concentrates on preserving peace in the world and asserting the peace initiatives of the USSR and other socialist countries. The initiatives contained in the conclusions of the Budapest session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee, aimed at substantially reducing conventional forces and the tactical airforce in Europe, constitute an important part of this activity.

The PCP Central Committee delegation voiced appreciation for the successes scored by the Czechoslovak people in building the socialist society and for the CSSR's policy of peace and expressed the solidarity of Portuguese Communists with the CPCZ's activity in implementing the targets determined by the 17th CPCZ Congress.

The CPCZ Central Committee delegation voiced support for the courageous struggle of Portuguese Communists for the interests of the people, defense of the democratic system, social progress, and preservation of peace in the world.

Discussing the international situation, the two delegations expressed the view that imperialism, and U.S. imperialism in particular, whose malevolent plans to gain military supremacy over the socialist countries, destabilize international relations and threaten world peace, were responsible for the dangerously escalating tension in the world. The militarization of outer space, continuation of nuclear tests, production of binary chemical weapons, and renunciation of SALT II are all part of the hegemonist plan to force upon the world imperialism's own rule. Support for the bloodiest dictatorships and blackmail, threats, pressure, and aggression against independent nations and countries, as demonstrated by the recent U.S. criminal aggression against Libya, are also part of these plans.

Because the atmosphere of peace and coexistence goes against its grain, imperialism is trying to slow down and reverse the working peoples' and nations' struggle for liberation. The two delegations stressed that it is ever more urgent for the international Communist and workers movement to seek ways to strengthen its cohesion as an effective response to the attacks of imperialism.

The two delegations believe that the struggle of the working people and nations of the world for peace is an essential prerequisite of halting the aggressive and militaristic policy of North American imperialism and the most reactionary circles of NATO. The two delegations expressed the view that the struggle for peace is inseparable from the struggle for social progress. The successes and new accomplishments of the socialist countries and the successes of revolutionary and progressive forces are an important contribution to the defense of peace in the world.

The two delegations believe that the struggle to halt the arms race and for disarmament and peace constitutes the fundamental common goal of all nations of the world.

The two delegations voiced appreciation for the peace proposals of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, particularly for the USSR's proposal, put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev, for the liquidation of all nuclear arms by the year 2000.

The two delegations sharply condemned the anticommunist and anti-Soviet campaign conducted under the pretext of fighting terrorism and denounced the campaign unleashed after the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant.

The two delegations voiced solidarity with the heroic struggle of the people of South Africa under the leadership of the African National Congress.

They condemned the regime of apartheid and its continuous aggression against Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and other front-line states and expressed their solidarity with the MPLA--Party of Labor, the FRELIMO party, and ZANU--Patriotic Front.

Discussing the situation in Central America, the two delegations vigorously condemned the American policy of threats, aggression, and state terrorism against Nicaragua. They expressed support for the Nicaraguan people and the Sandinista National Liberation Front as well as for the struggle of the people of El Salvador under the leadership of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front.

The two delegations expressed solidarity with the struggle of all nations for freedom, social progress, socialism, and peace, and against fascism, revanchism, racism, Zionism, colonialism, neocolonialism, imperialism, and reaction.

They pointed out the necessity to intensify efforts for the unity of anti-imperialist forces and emphasized the significance of mutual solidarity and a joint course of action of Communist and workers parties, as well as of the cohesion and unity of the international Communist and workers movement.

The two delegations expressed the will to continue to seek the strengthening of friendship, solidarity, and cooperation between the CPCZ and the PCP on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The CPCZ delegation attended a meeting of solidarity and friendship, which was addressed by F. Pitra and A. Cunhal. The visit took place in a comradely and friendly atmosphere and contributed to the further reinforcement of ties between the CPCZ and the PCP.

CTK Report

LD292000 Prague CTK in English 1737 GMT 29 Jun 86

[Text] Lisbon, 29 June (CTK)--The joint task of all nations in the world is the struggle for a halt to the arms race, for disarmament and for peace.

This point was stressed in a communique, issued here today at the end of a one-week visit to Portugal by a delegation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, led by party Presidium alternate member and Central Committee Secretary Frantisek Pitra, at the invitation of the Portuguese Communist Party Central Committee. The Portuguese delegation was led by party General Secretary Alvaro Cunhal.

The two delegations appreciated peace proposals of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, mainly the Soviet proposal to liquidate all nuclear weapons by the year 2000 presented by Mikhail Gorbachev.

Discussing the international situation, both sides agreed that the tension in the world has worsened due to the policy of imperialism, mainly American, whose plans to reach military superiority over the socialist countries destabilize international relations and threaten world peace.

The militarization of outer space and continuation of nuclear tests, production of binary chemical weapons and withdrawal from the SALT II treaty are part of the hegemonist intention to enforce its own rule. These plans include support to the bloodiest dictatorships, blackmail, threats, pressure and aggression against independent nations and countries, as demonstrated by the recent U.S. criminal aggression against Libya.

Imperialism, to which the atmosphere of peace and cooperation does not suit, tries to slow down and reverse the liberation struggle of working people and nations. The two delegations stressed that it is ever more urgent for the international Communist and workers' movement to seek ways to strengthen its unity as an effective reply to the attacks of imperialism.

The two delegations voiced solidarity with the heroic struggle of the people of South Africa under the leadership of the African National Congress. They condemned the regime of apartheid, its continuing aggression in Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and other front-line states, and expressed support for the MPLA-Party of Labor, the FRELIMO Party and the ZANU-Patriotic Front.

Both sides expressed solidarity with the struggle of all nations for freedom, social progress, socialism and peace, against fascism, revanchism, racism, Zionism, colonialism, neocolonialism, imperialism and reaction. They stressed the necessity to intensify the efforts (?for the unity) of anti-imperialist forces and emphasized the significance of mutual solidarity, joint actions of Communist and workers' parties, as well as the unity of the international Communist and workers' movement.

/12858
CSO: 2400, 329

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPCZ'S BENO ADDRESSES YOUTH RALLY, PRAISES INITIATIVE

LD041333 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1200 GMT 4 Jul 86

[Text] Participants in the nationwide Pioneers' Jamboree at Hradec and Moravici in Opava District today welcomed a delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee, the Federal Government, and the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak National Front.

Mikulas Beno, secretary of the Party Central Committee, heading the delegation, presented the Pioneers with personal greetings from Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, together with his wishes of great success in their activity and life.

Mikulas Beno praised the results achieved by the Pioneers in developing initiative in their work, in collecting secondary raw materials and medicinal herbs, in the help they provide in brigades, and in tidying up play areas, gardens, parks, and forests. These noble acts, he stated, convince us day after day that you are not indifferent to our socialist homeland. You have great prospects and opportunities in front of you. We are sure that the Pioneer organization, backed up by all-around support and care by our society, will enhance its influence even more, and provide even better outlets for your free time through its interesting and useful activities, so that you grow up to be honest, hard-working, and well-educated citizens, he said. The basic condition for allowing you to have a happy childhood, good education, enjoy yourselves, and be happy is peace.

Mikulas Beno concluded his speech by assuring those present that the Socialist Youth Union's Pioneer organization and its further development will continue to enjoy the full support and assistance of the CPCZ, the Czechoslovak government, the National Front, and all of society.

/12858
CSO: 2400/329

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

HANES RECEIVES PRC OFFICIAL--Prague, 30 June (CTK)--Dalibor Hanes, deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly and chairman of the House of Nations, received today Chinese Deputy Minister of Health Kua Yingy, who is visiting Czechoslovakia at the invitation of the Czech Ministry of Health. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1012 GMT 30 Jun 86 LD] /12858

SOCIALIST LEADER TALKS IN GDR--Berlin, 1 July (CTK correspondent)--The Czechoslovak Socialist Party and the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany will make every effort for the relaxation of world tension, a halt to the arms race and for the prevention of space militarization, the two parties' chairmen stated here today. Chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, chairman of the Federal Assembly Bohuslav Kucera and Chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany and Deputy Chairman of the GDR State Council Manfred Gerlach also pointed to their parties' coresponsibility for the success of the further development of the advanced socialist society. Both parties also wish to further contribute to the political and moral unity of the people and the improvement of the socialist state power. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1413 GMT 1 Jul 86 LD] /12858

NEW AMBASSADOR TO EGYPT--Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, received Milos Vesely, Czechoslovak ambassador to the Egyptian Arab Republic, in Prague today. The meeting took place in connection with the beginning of his tour of duty. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 3 Jul 86 LD] /12858

HUSAK CABLES REAGAN--Gustav Husak, president of the republic, sent a congratulatory telegram to U.S. President Ronald Wilson Reagan, on the occasion of his country's National Day. [No video available] [Text] [Prague Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1730 GMT 3 Jul 86 LD] /12858

PRAGUE ON RADIO FREE EUROPE--Subversive propaganda against socialist countries is the content of the broadcasting of the radio station Radio Free Europe (RFE). Its inflammatory broadcasting first appeared exactly 36 years ago on 4 July 1950. The station's three transmitters, two of which are on FRG territory and the other on Portuguese territory, now broadcast for 350 hours a week in Czech, Slovak, Polish, Hungarian, Romanian, and Bulgarian. Broadcasting to Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary comprises almost 20 hours a day. Some 2,000 people work for the RFE, a leading role in which is played

by employees of the U.S. intelligence center CIA. The CIA also has financially supported the station since 1970. The station is financed from the U.S. budget and the United States gives all-around support to its illegal activity by which it directly violates the basic provisions of the Helsinki Final Act. It serves as a tool of the psychological war against socialist countries and only heightens international tension by its activity. [Text] [Prague in Czech and Slovak to Europe 2230 GMT 5 Jul 86 LD] /12858

BILAK WELCOMES ZAMBIAN DELEGATION--Prague, 6 July (CTK)--A delegation of the Zambian United National Independence Party (UNIP), led by its Secretary-General Alexander Grey Zulu, arrived here today for an official friendly visit at the invitation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee. Members of the delegation by Daniel Lisulo, UNIP Central Committee member and chairman of its Political and Legal Committee; Mavis Muyundo, minister of state for foreign affairs; Justin Mukanda, minister of cooperatives, and other officials. The delegation was met at Ruzyně Airport by Vasil Bilak, Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Central Committee secretary, and other officials. Present was also Zambian Ambassador to Czechoslovakia residing in Moscow Fina Mushaukwa Liboma. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1653 GMT 6 Jul 86 LD] /12858

CSO: 2400/329

POLITICS

HUNGARY

HUNGARY'S 'SCHIZOPHRENIC' HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY

Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 16 Jun 86 p 3

[Article by Peter Martos, Staff editor at DIE PRESSE: "On the Borders of Freedom"]

[Text] Budapest/Vienna--The self-assured statements of a communist party functionary regarding Hungary's positive CSCE-balance were not even published in DIE PRESSE when the reporter began the journey home from the Warsaw Pact Summit in Budapest. His automobile--during entry into the country already literally "taken apart" by extremely conscientious customs officials--seems this time to have given less cause for profound suspicion: upon leaving the country the officer was satisfied with 10 minutes each for the engine area and the front seat. Instead, he concentrated on the printed matter carefully piled up on the back seat. The prospectus of a Soviet machinery exporting enterprise was studied as attentively as the handwritten notes from the official press conference. Finally, the frosty-polite official took an arbitrarily selected bundle into the customs office. What will the authorities indeed do with the Warsaw Pact "appeal"--which was published the next day in the Hungarian unitary press?

Two pieces of paper with the addresses and telephone numbers of Hungarian critics of the regime are undoubtedly more useful: Does the regime want to continue the chicanery it has heretofore practiced by reproaching insubordinate persons with contacts with foreigners in the Romanian manner? Or is only the journalist to be warned? "Do you perhaps want to visit all these people?" the customs official asked at entry, apparently not knowing that Western reporters always very honestly "admit" their contacts with dissidents anyway.

Communications between Budapest and the border at Hegyeshalom apparently do not exactly function perfectly because the officials in the capital were very surprised at the customs agents' procedure. "The embassy in Vienna announced your coming, after all," they excused themselves at the press center of the East Bloc summit. In a "collegial" manner they added: "Perhaps it was only a matter of a normal spot-check." By the second 1 and 1/2-hour check at the latest, the reporter could no longer believe in coincidence: Then a customs officer also confirmed that they had received instructions from the capital. Semi-official interlocutors in Budapest have no trouble in

seeing parallels between the inconsistent treatment of foreign journalists and the "course" in regard to critics of the regime: "One hand often does not know what the other one is doing." In many cases of illegal publications, for example, the Ministry of Culture and the central committee department decided not to intervene; the authorities proceeded against the evil-doers nonetheless. Malicious gossipers contend that this "schizophrenia" has become more pronounced since a police officer is interior minister rather than a politician.

The facts speak for this account. Police raids on people known as Zamisdat-activists have increased recently. Undoubtedly the biggest catch the police succeeded in making was the confiscation of Number 16 of the underground-magazine BESZELÓ (the Speaker) during its production. The four people caught red-handed--among them a nephew of the "Culture Pope" Gyorgy Aczel--were convicted just last week. For violation of the press law they must pay 9,000 forints each. Paradoxically enough, the issue has been put together in the meantime without any harassment.

The practice of punishing dissidents who are in dire financial straits anyway with fines is indeed painful; Janos Nagy, editor at the Zamisdat publishing house AB, had to pretty much stop work. In comparison with the procedure of other East Bloc countries, however, the "Hungarian way" is still to be preferred. That a student who took up a collection for Nagy at a rally was, ironically, convicted of panhandling, is just one of the oddities: she received a 1,000-forint fine. Other participants in the March demonstration were prosecuted for obstruction of traffic; in addition, a whole series of dismissals from work and expulsions from the university supposedly resulted. Why does a demonstration on 15 March--the anniversary of the Hungarian rising of 1848--have legal consequences at just this time? Not only critics of the regime suspect that the regime, a few days before Mikhail Gorbachov's visit, wanted to demonstrate "toughness" and thus at the same time show that the slogans about the "merry barracks of the East Bloc" are inventions of the Western media.

Hungary is pursuing a contradictory policy in the area of the so-called Basket Three of the CSCE Final Act of Helsinki. On the one hand critics of the regime are regularly prosecuted; on the other, officials repeatedly emphasize strict adherence to the obligations entered into. On the one hand Western mass media publications are readily available at numerous newspaper stands--DIE PRESSE at 46 forints, thus about 1 hour's average wage; on the other, publications are repeatedly confiscated from travelers. On the one hand there are protestations that there is no censorship; on the other, letters, for example to conscientious objector Karoly Kiszely, are "lost" in droves or only arrive 2 weeks later--opened and pasted shut again--at the addressee. (The same Kiszely was informed in May that 200 forints compensation was appropriate for a letter sent abroad and lost the previous year.) On the one hand much is done for the facilitation of journalistic work; on the other, reporters can repeatedly experience how "spot-check searches" work. On the one hand there are constantly assurances that the sole restriction on trips abroad by citizens is the country's foreign exchange situation; on the other, the passport holder can be denied, at any time and

without any statement of reason, the issuance of a "window" necessary for cross-border travel. On the one hand they like to cite the Budapest Cultural Forum which conducted discussions in an atmosphere of complete openness; on the other, the hall for a critical parallel event with foreign participants was suddenly not available.

At the CSCE's Vienna follow-up meeting Hungary will not shrink from any discussion about "Human Rights"/Basket Three because, opines communist party functionary Janos Barabas, who was quoted at the beginning of this article, "we have something to show." The country can present a long list of reports of success. The gap between official declarations and daily life, however, is by no means closed.

13238/9435
CSO: 2300/420

POLITICS

HUNGARY

TURKISH TREATMENT OF EVREN'S BUDAPEST VISIT NOTED

Frankfurt am Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 27 Jun 86 p 3

[Article by Wolfgang Guenter Lerch: "Reminders of the Battle of Mohacs"]

[Text] "An economic Mohacs campaign." Under this headline the Turkish daily newspaper TER CUMAN has just reported about the official state visit of Turkish State President Kenan Evren to Budapest. This visit--it is the first one by a Turkish head of state to Hungary--is getting considerable response in Turkey; they would like to not only speak with the Hungarians about a continued improvement of political relations as well as about international questions, but also increase the volume of trade. It suits the Turks' concept of their national history, cultivated right up to the present, as well as their national pride, that Evren's visit is not coming off without ample reminders of the time when the Ottomans ruled over Hungary.

"Mohacs" is the name of that Hungarian city in which, in the year 1526, the Ottoman troops won a military victory which assured them dominion over the greatest part of Hungary with the capital of Buda (Ofen) for 160 years. Of course the Ottomans had previously subjugated portions of Hungary. The Mohacs campaign was one of the first military expeditions of Sultan Suleiman Kanuni (usually called "Suleiman the Magnificent" in German), whom the Turks honor as one of their greatest rulers because he distinguished himself as a lawgiver. Suleiman died 40 years after Mohacs, in the year 1566, during a new campaign in Hungary, in front of the stronghold of Szigetvar. The campaign which culminated in the Battle of Mohacs was the final rehearsal for the first siege of Vienna, which took place 3 years later, in 1529.

The newspaper TER CUMAN mentions in its report from the Hungarian capital the "heroic defense" of the Ottomans under the last governor of Buda, Abdurrahman Abdi Pasha Arnavut, who had to abandon the city after 143 years of Turkish control and suffered "martyrdom" in the process. That was, according to a monument which the newspaper showed next to a drawing of Abdurrahman Pasha, on 2 September 1686, almost exactly 3 years after the second siege of Vienna by the Turks which likewise ended with a defeat for the Ottomans.

Evren's visit is also an occasion for Turkish journalists to go searching for Turkish remains in Hungary and especially in the capital of Budapest. Thus

the newspapers mention the grave of Gulbaba, a Bektashi dervish from Anatolia, who led a peaceful life in Buda dedicated to the cultivation of roses and who is still popular with Hungarians today. "Gulbaba" means "father of the roses." A photograph shows two Turkish journalists in prayer before the sarcophagus of the dervish.

Evren's call in Hungary is characterized as a visit of friendship. For that reason as well TERCUMAN writes: "Our president is in friendly Hungary 300 years after Turkish rule." Meanwhile, many a Hungarian could ask what the point of this profusion of historical reminders of battles was and whether it was good for Turkish-Hungarian relations.

13238/9435
CSO: 2300/420

POLITICS

HUNGARY

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF DANUBE FEDERATION, NATIONALITIES

Szeged TISZATAJ in Hungarian No 5 1986 pp 73-76

[Review by Laszlo Illavai of Peter Hanak's book "The Danube Patriotism of Oszkar Jaszi": "Rational Illusions--Hopeless Alternatives"]

[Excerpts] It would be possible to measure our general intellectual frame of mind and orientation if we could show how and why the analysis of some lifeworks becomes an actual public affair, while others sink into the oblivion of disinterest until another fiftieth anniversary is reached. In the case of Oszkar Jaszi and several eminent representatives of the Hungarian progressive movement at the beginning of the century, it is most likely that the stratum of democratic tradition they represented provides the central motive for the interest. But the public demand for Jaszi is supported also by other elements. In addition to the special research observation accorded to the organizing and directing personality of the "second reform generation," his attitude of intellectual independence and consistence on his own course, the greatest response is evoked in public opinion perhaps by his scientific achievements on the nationality question, his political defeats and his search for underlying causes in uncovering the Danube region's dilemma, which he lived through as a publicist, party leader, minister and emigrant.

Peter Hanak's sweeping historical essay on Jaszi's lifework maps out these ranges of his life. In pursuit of a life career that winds from the outcast status of the generation that began with the desire for a "New Hungary" to the creation of a private intellectual homeland in an "emigration that lasted to the end of his life," Hanak stresses the central idea, the most fertile one because it cannot be realized: the ideal rooted in the alternative, "the rational illusion" of a Danube Federation, which the author describes with the term "Danube patriotism."

In what does Peter Hanak see the universal surplus value of Danube patriotism which would have represented a suitable basis for overcoming and eliminating a selfish search for advantage, and an original mistrust? Striving to conceive a program for a Hungary renewed by democracy, Jaszi necessarily found himself confronting the problems of the non-Magyar nations and nationalities that formed half the population before 1918, "the fulcrum of Archimedes of Hungarian democracy." As the solution he

proposed equality of rights and nationality, democracy securely based on free national development.

Jaszi trusted in the democratic behavior of successor state leaders, but for the support of the Hungarian emigration he soon had to see that he was fostering vain hopes. Although together with Karolyi he trusted primarily in the cooperative willingness of Masaryk and Benes, the two leaders of the Czechoslovak state, we now know that Benes saw early in 1922 in Jaszi and his followers "a group of fanatics incapable of constructive work" and "potential nationalists." But permanent values were also born during the years in Vienna. On the basis of the Danube Federation program outlines in 1920-1921 or his Monarchy book analysis which appeared in the United States in 1929, Peter Hanak sees results that stand the test of time in a concept suited to the new Central European situation and an outline for giving consciousness to the region's common lot. The author sees especially the latter as practical nowadays, in fact obligatory. According to him, not one of the national, regional or universal international cooperation forms can be neglected without reducing the chances for successful cooperation. In addition to the cooperation which he believes can be realized by "the humanization and compromise of existing nationalisms" (p 26), he urges that the nationalist cult be confronted with a counterculture of respect for neighbors. "To this end, we need to introduce and accept a democratic civics education system--Peter Hanak emphasizes this with a flight of imagination similar to the prophecies of Jaszi--in which the consciousness of a common lot rises to the level of a national interest and value, and the values of the national cultures are built organically into the inventory of ideas of Danube patriotism" (p 156).

With its own mature methodological and stylistic apparatus Peter Hanak's book encompasses the questions of Danube Federation and patriotism in a manner worthy of Jaszi's design of intellectual evolution: refined empathy, in harmony with a historian's training, and an appropriate objectivity make it possible for him that "the realized future," in knowledge of the alternatives that have survived the sieve of history, will give an accurate sense of strengths and chances of the sifted variants. Among them, he believes that Jaszi's idea of a Danube Federation, this "excessively rational construct" still belongs "among the historical alternatives as an unrealistic possibility facing great odds" (p 156).

In addition to weighing the chances of alternatives, utopias and illusions, we can read noteworthy and hopefully productive flights of the imagination regarding the relations of nation and nationality, reform and democracy, democracy and nationality. The definition of the latter in particular and the precise indication of the difference between them (pp 149-150) appears to be an important perception, even if the internal problems and external conflicts of Danube regional national development permit us to conclude that democracy and nationality defined as different forms of identity can be regarded as belonging more closely together in optimum cases than the permitted relation indicated in the Hanak definition.

6691/12899
CSO: 2500/309

POLITICS

HUNGARY

NEED FOR UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION ANALYZED

Budapest MUNKA in Hungarian No 4 1986 pp 11-12

[Article by Laszlo Karcagi]

[Excerpt] The Hungarian working-age population (ages 15-60 for men, up to age 55 for women) exceeds 6 million, 5 million of which are active wage earners. A large number of those who do not hold jobs do not seek employment at all. Their reasons vary: some have not yet completed their education, others are disabled or intend to remain in the household. Only a relatively thin stratum of society has a casual perception of work. For a variety of reasons, these individuals work only occasionally--they act according to the whims of their momentary interests. This stratum is composed mainly of female unskilled physical workers. Labor statistics only approximate their number. Statistically, the size of this group is established indirectly, based on the occurrence of re-employment after separation from a previous employer within a given period of time. These estimates suggest that 13-15 percent of the approximately 600,000 individuals who have separated from their employers are not being re-employed within 6 months. From this group of 80-90,000, one would have to subtract the number of those who do not even want to be re-employed, and therefore should not be considered as unemployed.

The Guiding Principle

Viewed from a different perspective, 10 percent of all crime is being committed by the unemployed, according to 1984 estimates of the Office of the Supreme Prosecutor. Prosecutions for violations of general vagrancy laws exceed 3,000 annually. According to these estimates, the number of those who avoid work in a manner that presents a menace to society amounts to 25-30,000 individuals, or one-half of one percent of the working-age population. According to expert estimates by the State Wage and Labor Office [ABMH], one may add to this number another 100,000 employed individuals who change their jobs frequently, so much so that from a practical viewpoint their activities may not be considered useful. These individuals spend most of their time "between" jobs. They are the products of the labor shortage, and they are the ones who may count on being first to be out of work as a result of efficiency measures.

Then there are those who are not part of any statistics. These individuals are beyond the working age, would like to, or need to work for financial reasons, but are unable to secure employment. This group is composed primarily of retired persons with low pensions. They have difficulty finding jobs even in Budapest, where manpower offices list 20-25,000 vacancies. Due to age and health conditions they are unable to perform physical labor.

The institutional mechanism established for the relief of possible occupational tension functions primarily under the auspices of the ABMH and of the local councils. The guiding principle is that occupational efficiency is the proper concern of the various enterprises, while the achievement of full employment is the responsibility of state authorities. In practice, however, this division of labor often fails or becomes contradictory. For example, state authorities responsible for full employment frequently complain about their inability to fulfill their mission, because the various enterprises are authorized to independently hire whomever they want to. Council-level manpower agencies equally lack power in this respect. (However beneficial this system may be from other viewpoints, these failures demonstrate that the potential of employment referral is limited: it works as long as there are more vacancies than applicants.)

The utility of regulations and financial aid mechanisms that encourage employers to create workplace amenable to handicapped workers is quite evident. Also, the government provides tens of millions of forints each year to areas that experience employment difficulties due to inherited socio-economic problems. These include the stimulation of industries in certain areas of the counties of Szabolcs-Szatmar and Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén.

It would appear that all this is insufficient. What we need is a review of the employment security aspects of our labor policies in harmony with our plans for efficiency. These pertain to safeguards that protect individuals disadvantaged in finding employment, or, alternatively, who are out of work due to the reorganization of enterprises. For many years, perhaps decades, these safeguards were not needed at all. They exist, but perhaps they have become rusty, perhaps they no longer function as they should under the new circumstances, perhaps some new safeguards are needed.

Contradictions

The old Gypsy mentioned in the introduction would not have been returned to jail repeatedly, had he received a certificate from the council stating that he was in search of employment but was unable to find a job. In his case the council could have acknowledged that indeed, in his field of work, there does exist unemployment, such a statement, however, would have triggered countless consequences. For example, equipped with the certificate, the Gypsy could have sought unemployment compensation. The amount of such assistance is presently fixed at a level between 300 and 600 forints, pursuant to regulations promulgated in 1957. (These amounts, of course, are so small that by today's standards they do not provide even vegetation-level subsistence.) Irrespective of the sensitive nature of

this issue, one must ask: why can't we provide financial assistance to the unemployed? All civilized nations of the world endeavour to provide such assistance to those who have lost their jobs through no fault of their own, for short or long periods of time. We too have our unemployed, after all. And we have to prepare ourselves for the future, when unemployment is bound to increase. We are talking about people who loose their jobs, because their previous workplace, say, for economic reasons, ceases to exist. The state must institute provisions for the livelihood of these people, to cover those few weeks or months of unemployment.

In this context we should also note that the close relationship between the workplace and the delivery of social services is unfortunate. The so called "family bonus," for instance, is tied to work relationships, most likely on grounds of some "pedagogical considerations" to motivate those who do not want to work. One discovers a different perspective with respect to a person who lost his job through no fault of his own, if even for a few weeks. It would appear as outright brutal to deny the "family bonus" to this person, at a time when he may be facing financial problems, (not to mention the fact that the "family bonus" is granted for the sake of the child, and not for the employee.)

The pleasing phenomenon of the past several months in Hungary has been the tipping of the scale of labor supply and demand toward a balance. We hope that this process will continue, and that we will achieve the desired balance. It would help solve a number of economic problems. On the other hand, this balance would also create new problems, by ending the excessive abundance of job vacancies. This, in turn, suggests that today's job placement mechanisms are in desperate need of renewal and maintenance.

12995/12899
CSO: 2500/310

POLITICS

POLAND

ARGENTINA'S MARTINEZ ON OFFICIAL VISIT

Jaruzelski Receives Martinez

LD231757 Warsaw PAP in English 1706 GMT 23 Jun 86

/Text/ Warsaw, 23 Jun--Vice President of the Argentine Republic and President of the Congress Victor H. Martinez, now on an official visit to Poland, conducted political and economic talks with Poland's leading officials here today.

The Argentine visitor met in the morning with Sejm Deputy Speaker Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski who presented the work of Poland's supreme legislative body against the background of the current socioeconomic situation in this country. The two men pointed with satisfaction to consolidating processes of democratization of life in their countries and the favourable state of bilateral relations.

The meeting was attended by Argentine and Polish ambassadors, Miguel Szlagowski and Jan Janiszewski, respectively.

Also today, Victor H. Martinez met with Chairman of the Council of Ministers Zbigniew Messner. During the talks conducted in a friendly atmosphere the sides assessed the current state of Polish-Argentine relations and prospects for their further development.

The meeting was attended by Undersecretary of State in Poland's Ministry of Foreign Affairs Jan Kinast, and the ambassadors of both countries.

President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski received here today Vice President of the Argentine Republic and President of the Congress Victor H. Martinez, now on an official visit to Poland, to exchange views on key international issues and on deepening bilateral, especially economic, cooperation.

Referring to the current international situation the sides said Poland and Argentina will continue to contribute to the cause of detente and consolidation of international, peaceful and equal-rights relations of all states.

It was underscored with satisfaction that the revival of Polish-Argentine contacts on the political and economic, cultural and scientific planes brought both countries closer together and gave new impetus to the growing bilateral cooperation in all fields.

The talks were also attended by: Undersecretary of State at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs Jan Kinast, Argentine Ambassador to Poland Miguel Szelagowski and Polish Ambassador to Argentina Jan Janiszewski.

Visit Concludes

LD241513 Warsaw PAP in English 1408 GMT 24 Jun 86

Text Warsaw, 24 Jun--Vice President of the Argentine Republic and President of the Congress Victor H. Martinez, accompanied by his wife, ended his several-day official visit to Poland today.

The Argentine visitor was seen off at Warsaw Airport by Vice President of the Council of State Kazimierz Barcikowski and other officials. Present was ambassador of Argentina to Poland Miguel Szelagowski.

Speaking to newsmen upon the departure, the Argentine guest stressed that the visit, and also the detailed information from various official sources, had made it possible for him to have a closer look at the reality of today's Poland.

"That is how we got to know how Poland, despite difficulties, develops her activities. This is a transition from a very inconvenient situation to a state of development and long-term planning. We got acquainted with the dynamics of the Polish people, who once were able to restore their towns, and now they also know how to restructure the economy," Martinez said.

In conclusion he pointed to the significance of the visit for expanding ties between Poland and Argentina.

/12228
CSO: 2020/169

POLITICS

POLAND

PARTY LEADERS ADDRESS FACTORY WORKERS

LD090851 Warsaw PAP in English 2004 GMT 8 Jul 86

/Excerpts/ Warsaw, 8 Jul--Members of the PZPR CC Political Bureau and Secretariat today visited plant crews and party organizations to hold direct talks about the tasks stemming from the decisions of the 10th PZPR Congress which wound up a few days ago.

The meetings were of a working character. They enriched the knowledge of the members of the party's leadership about the feelings and expectations among workers.

The meetings were accompanied by the awareness of the /word indistinct/ to realize in the possibly soonest time the decisions of the 10th Congress.

The participants in the meetings made common statements regarding the need to deepen the line of socialist renewal and preserve an everyday, closer contact of party organizations and authorities of all levels with the working class and all working people.

Member of Political Bureau, PZPR CC Secretary Josef Czyrek visited the Warsaw-based Telkom-Zwut telephone equipment factory.

Answering questions, Czyrek said that the PZPR Congress specified the goals of development, also taking into consideration the principle of just division of incomes in socialized units.

The party will consistently aim to improve the instruments of economic reform and implement the Leninist principle: to everybody according to his work.

A universal review called attestation will soon take place in economic structures, but if it is to be efficient, the process must embrace the entire economy and become a kind of social movement.

Referring to the congress documents, Czyrek pointed to the necessity to repay debt for the sake of securing Poland's credibility in the international trade exchange.

The repayment should contribute to taking the economy out of difficulties but it cannot hamper its development and affect society's living standards. It must be done in cooperation with creditors, Czyrek said.

PZPR CC Political Bureau member Alfred Miodowicz was a guest of the trade union organization in the Szombierki colliery where the initiative to hold the founding meeting of the national agreement of trade unions OPZZ was born nearly 2 years ago.

Answering questions, he said that resolutions adopted by the party's highest forum form a significant support for the labour movement in fulfilling its goals.

"I view my presence in the Political Bureau as the presence of a representative of trade unions in the party's highest authorities. It shows respect for the party's highest authorities. It shows respect for the involvement, firmness and consistency as well as clear political line which the reborn, class trade union movement represents," Miodowicz said.

"I admit that this decision may arouse controversy, but the situation is quite different now than in the past when a Political Bureau member was designated 'from the top' to work in trade unions. Now, the OPZZ chairman was elected Political Bureau member to present trade unions' point of view there," he added.

Issues of broadly understood economic thriftiness as the key condition for fully putting to life the resolutions of the 10th PZPR Congress and overcoming the still existent difficulties were a characteristic trait of talks which PZPR CC Political Bureau member, vice president of the Council of State Kazimierz Barcikowski held with members of this parental party organization, the K-2 department in the Adolf Warski shipyard in Szczecin.

In reply to questions Barcikowski stated that the removal of rationing would be determined by, above all, the level of management, the volume of supplies and the effectiveness of the struggle against inflation.

Wage increases will not be great, as is stated in documents. A general improvement of management is the path leading to an improvement of living conditions. It determines the living standards. Much can be done, however, to make life easier by introducing a score of organizational improvements and paying more attention to solving everyday human problems, stated Kazimierz Barcikowski.

/12228
CSO: 2020/169

POLITICS

POLAND

MESSNER, FERENSTAJN VISIT DABROWSKIE ENTERPRISES

LD082229 Warsaw PAP in English 1957 GMT 8 Jul 86

/Text/ Warsaw, 8 Jul--Member of PZPR CC Political Bureau, Premier Zbigniew Messner and alternate member of the Political Bureau Bogumil Ferensztajn visited the crews of the following plants in the Dabrowskie coal mining and industrial basin (southern Poland): the "Fabet" shoe factory in Bedzin and the "Wanda" knitting plant in Sosnowiec.

The crew of the "Abet" plant told Zbigniew Messner about work in the plant and stated that in the conditions of economic reform "Fabet" was adjusting its production to the needs of its customers in a flexible manner. The plant is currently starting production of hollow bricks for one-family housing construction.

In talks with workers the premier acquainted himself with the working and living conditions of the crew. The topic of effectiveness and productivity surfaced during the meeting with the plant's worker and management activists.

"In the course or debates at the 10th Congress we presented the current state of our country in all fields," stated Zbigniew Messner.

"Positive and advantageous trends were presented and at the same time troubles and barriers, and the necessity and opportunity to choose. You are an example of how available materials can be used effectively while protecting the natural environment and how good work can be motivated through good stated the premier addressing the crew.

The Bedzin-based "Chelmek" shoe factory produces 3.2 million pairs of shoes a year. The crew is well aware of the fact that the precondition for receiving the latest imported machines is the export of best quality shoes. Although assembly line production and piece wages force a fast work tempo the crew of "Chelmek" undertook additional work commitments for the congress and supplied about 12,000 more pairs of shoes. The premier expressed his respect and appreciation for the whole crew for the high level and quality of their production in the factory visitor's book.

In the Sosnowiec-based "Wanda" plant Zbigniew Messner stopped at many work posts to pass on thanks for the cable that was sent to the 10th Congress and for the crew's support for the delegates through productive work. The crew exchanged comments and observations on the topic of government orders for children's clothes and for export. Zbigniew Messner congratulated the crew on its high workmanship.

POLITICS

POLAND

MALINOWSKI RECEIVES AUSTRALIAN PARLIAMENTARIANS

LD071728 Warsaw PAP in English 1630 GMT 7 Jul 86

Text Warsaw, 7 Jul--An official delegation of the Australian Parliament with Chairwoman of the House of Representatives Joan Child has started its visit to Poland at the invitation from the Polish Sejm (parliament) Presidium.

Today, the Australian guests were received by Sejm speaker Roman Malinowski who said that despite geographic distance, the two countries showed interest in each other, and parliamentary contacts played an important role in bilateral relations.

The Sejm speaker attached much attention to international problems and pointed to Australia's initiative to create a nuclear-free zone in southern Pacific which has been successfully realized.

Referring to alarming phenomena in international politics--the attempts to undermine international agreements like Potsdam Treaty, the economic restrictions, propaganda aggression--Malinowski emphasized that Poland came out in favour of dialogue and cooperation of all countries based on equal rights. He said next meetings of leaders of the two superpowers should create conditions for peaceful cooperation and detente.

Malinowski pointed out that the policy of restrictions towards Poland was wearing out, and a practice of normal contacts was coming back.

Touching upon Polish-Australian relations, Malinowski pointed to a pretty big difference between the size of Polish imports from and exports to that country. To balance them is of essential importance for creating long-range and lasting economic relations.

There are also possibilities to develop cultural cooperation which until now is rather insignificant. The Sejm speaker also familiarized the Australian guests with Poland's internal problems and the Sejm's activity.

Joan Child stressed the importance of peace and disarmament in East-West relations for all the nations. Referring to bilateral contacts, she spoke in favour of developing trade with Poland and stated that possibilities for imports from Poland were being examined.

/12228
CSO: 2020/169

POLITICS

POLAND

MALINOWSKI MEETS IPU COUNCIL PRESIDENT

LD071954 Warsaw PAP in English 1845 GMT 7 Jul 86

/Text/ Warsaw, 7 Jul--President of the Council of the Interparliamentary Union, chairman of the Bundestag's Foreign Commission Hans Stercken, now visiting Poland, met here today with Sejm (parliament) Speaker Roman Malinowski.

In the talks, Malinowski said that many problems in the world came as a result of mutual misunderstanding, or lack of will to understand. He expressed the opinion that the Interparliamentary Union could make greater contribution to solving global problems. He emphasized that the Sejm attached great weight to contacts between parliaments.

Malinowski also familiarized the guest with the Sejm's activity and problems of Poland's development. He said the 10th PZPR Congress was a confirmation of the practice of socialist renewal.

Hans Stercken accentuated the importance he attached to his Polish visit not only as the president of the union's council but also as a European. Describing possibilities for joint, interparliamentary activity in the field of foreign policy, he pointed to good results of the Sixth Interparliamentary CSCE Conference held in Bonn of late. He also said that the union was striving to get parliaments more involved in foreign policy which he described as a policy of peace.

Stercken also touched upon some more general aspects of FRG's relations with Poland and other countries, with the stress put on cooperation.

Malinowski pointed out that apart from words and intentions, one should create a specified practice. Here, he pointed to the initiative on cooperation between the CMEA and EEC as well as to foreign firms' interest in creating joint ventures with the Polish side, the possibility of which had been created by the law passed in Poland of late. He also deemed it necessary to develop political infrastructure in Polish-FRG relations.

Later in the day, Hans Stercken participated in a working meeting of the Polish group of the interparliamentary union chaired by deputy Jarema Maciszewski.

Stercken also met with foreign Vice Minister Tadeusz Olechowski to discuss problems of bilateral relations between Poland and FRG.

/12228

CSO: 2020/169

POLITICS

POLAND

KWIATKOWSKI VIEWS AUDIENCE FOR FOREIGN BROADCASTS

LD062057 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 6 Jul 86

/Interview with Professor Stanislaw Kwiatkowski, director of the Public Opinion Research Center, with unidentified interviewer; date and place not specified; recorded/

/Text/ /Interviewer/ I welcome assistant professor Dr Stanislaw Kwiatkowski, director of the Public Opinion Research Center, to our program. When we met previously in this program we talked about finding out the public's opinion in connection with the Chernobyl accident. You said at that time that 31 percent of radio listeners in Poland also sought information in Polish-language broadcasts. This was taken note of and in the West great importance was attached to this, namely that one-third of all Poles listen to broadcasting stations broadcasting in Polish from the West.

/Kwiatkowski/ Yes, for a short time we were the heroes of the gutter press. /chuckles/ Perhaps we should get back to the matter at hand. It is true that our results shock from time to time. But this is how things are with facts. I will take advantage of this opportunity to say straight away that we do not accept any responsibility for the interpretations added to the facts which we give. And this is always happening--and you know, this concerns not only our opponents, if one can use such an expression here, but our journalists are also doing us a disservice. This happened even from the Sejm tribune where our data was interpreted in quite a false manner to improve the mood of the authorities. I think this is completely unnecessary. On the other hand, I am not surprised when the opponent exploits this for his own benefit--our data, I mean. And this is what happened in this instance when certain broadcasting stations ended up by congratulating themselves. The fact that so many Poles showed an interest in or listened to and made use of, these foreign sources of information was treated as a sensation. I cannot see anything strange in this, all the more since I can illustrate that in normal times the level of interest in these sources of information is small--in the region of 8-12 percent maximum.

However, can one be surprised if in a situation where there is a sense of threat, a worry about something secret and invisible--because this, after all, was what it was like as regards the Chernobyl accident and here one has to take into account the whole of the psychological climate--the demand for information

increases? It is a misfortune if in such a situation we do not react fast enough. And even if we do react, people still look for information from all possible sources.

/Interviewer/ Particularly from those hot sources without waiting for tomorrow's papers, but resorting to today's radio.

/Kwiatkowski/ That's right. From the research we carried out immediately after this accident we know what people expected and what sort of complaints they had. But I could show you, using statistics, how this appears in relation to our sources of information. For instance, one-third found out about this /as heard/ from the television. But then, in subsequent days, when looking for information, exactly 83.5 percent of those polled stated that they relied on television to obtain further information. This is also the case as regards Polish radio. Barely one-quarter found out from the radio about the accident but afterwards more than 67 percent relied on it. Barely 3 percent found out from the press but them almost 50 percent relied on it. And so on. Thus, this applies to all sources of information because people look everywhere. And there is nothing odd about this. After all, we do not have a monopoly over information. There are other sources and people use all possible ones.

/Interviewer/ The first thing is where one looks for the information. The second thing is whom one believes.

/Kwiatkowski/ Of course, that's right.

/Interviewer/ But, nevertheless, when people were asked whom they believe, the most frequent reply was Polish television.

/Kwiatkowski/ Yes, and this is basically always the case. I can add that more than one-half, 58.7 percent to be exact, watch television for 2-3 hours each day. And if we ask about where people get their information about current political events then television wins the most points because more than 92 percent of adult Poles mention it most frequently as being the source of information they avail themselves of the most. Radio is in second place with 77 percent, and more than 73 percent mention the papers. Of course, this does not add up to 100 because we all watch television, listen to the radio, and read the papers.

/Interviewer/ You said that such a huge percentage of Poles--more than 92 percent--mention television as a source of information about what is going on in the world and our country. But, after all, it was not so long ago that we had a catchword which said the television lies.

/Kwiatkowski/ Yes, we remember this catchword which was scribbled on walls and in all free spaces. It should be said that it continues to apply within society. In percentage terms, more than 47 percent of those we polled said that it in this respect things are now better than at that time when this catchword...

/Interviewer interrupts/ In 1980-81.

/Kwiatkowski/ That's right. And 41 percent said that things were the same as at that time.

/Interviewer/ Are there those who think that things have got worse?

/Kwiatkowski/ Not many, but there are 7 percent who say that things are even worse in this respect.

/Interviewer/ The same 7 percent who always say that things are worse, that they will not take part in elections, that they do not like the government's policies.

/Kwiatkowski/ That's right. Roughly 6 percent of adult Poles reply in a slightly opposition-minded manner to various, so to speak, indifferent or politically sensitive questions.

/Interviewer/ I would like to know if these people really believe that television is telling lies and is putting out false information?

/Kwiatkowski/ That was a good prompting question because I was just leading up to this. I think that the thing is not that lies are really being told in the sense of conveying false information, information which on the whole is false--this is not the point. I think that the point here is, above all, that there are delays when people are upset by something and looking for an answer and would like to know how matters really stand, when the information is not full or is abridged, and when there is deliberate slowness, above all, perhaps following the principle--because, as we both well know this principle has lingered on in Poland--that if one does not mention something then it is not there. But things are just the opposite. If one does not mention something then there really is something up because there is a demand, there are expectations, and no information is forthcoming. And this is where we get the accusation from--well, what kind of accusation can one make?--is this simply a delay or are they quite simply telling lies?

Sometimes we pay a high price for this. This applies, in particular, to bad news. In the same way as it is not a lie to say, for example, that so and so many items have been made in some place or other, or so and so much of something has been extracted, the radio listener or television viewer says: so what, since no period is given or no date when this was extracted? It appears to him that these figures are being juggled about only to create an impression on him. After hearing them we are not much the wiser. Or we do not know anything more than we did before. For instance, an announcement says that a shop is closed until further notice. This is on a similar principle. /chuckles/ This is obtrusive argumentation, one-sided interpretation, without room for independent thought.

/Interviewer/ But this does not apply to all journalistic efforts, of course.

Kwiatkowski/ But all of us—I mean all of us who work with words—could be accused of bringing about a superabundance, a kind of inflation of verbiage. This verbiage inflation is felt just as keenly as the inflation of our zloty. Returning to the matter of how many people listened to something or how many people listen to something normally, I should say that we do not have a monopoly over information. We should always bear in mind—in particular our specialists in information politics and all of us journalists—that these percentage figures are to some extent a measure of our botched work.

/12228

CSO: 2600/558

POLITICS

POLAND

POLAND'S WORSENING SOCIOECONOMIC SITUATION VIEWED

PM091155 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 5 Jul 86 p 5

[Anders Bodegard article: "Environmentalist Movement Growing in Poland"]

[Text] "For our children's lives and health" ran an appeal from a number of mothers of small children in the heavily polluted city of Krakow where infant mortality is three times and the incidence of cancer twice that of Poland as a whole. The women proposed a protest demonstration on Children's Day, 1 June.

The appeal came in April, and in the meantime the Chernobyl accident has made the environmental threat even more tangible and given rise to great distress and anger. Before long there were official announcements that the danger was over, and for radiation measurements the general public had instead to go to the underground press or the church where they were read aloud after the sermon.

The environmental threat--the widespread destruction of land, water, and air--has been overshadowed by other issues in this problem-burdened country. Solidarity adviser Prof Bronislaw Geremek has said that Solidarity was planning to hold a conference on environmental issues in Katowice in February 1982. For well known reasons it was unable to take place.

However, now the environmental problems have come to the fore and Geremek believes that the reaction to Chernobyl could be the starting point for a broader environmentalist movement. The Polish Church has already begun to take an interest in the problems. Primate Jozef Glemp has had a report prepared on the ecological situation (this has been published abroad.) It gives just as frightening a picture as the one presented in Solidarity's report "Five Years After Gdansk" last fall.

In Krakow the awareness of environmental problems is greater than elsewhere in Poland--something that is not surprising if you stay in the city during the heat of summer and the air is filled with the discharge of heavy metals and sulfur dioxide from the Nowa Huta Works. Even in the early part of Solidarity's period of freedom in 1981-82, with the exceptional chances for influencing opinion which then existed, workers

succeeded in getting an aluminum section, which was extremely dangerous environmentally, closed and a plan for the restructuring of the Nowa Huta Works adopted by the city authorities. (It was never carried out; instead a new coke works is being built in the densely populated area.)

The environmentalist demonstration 1 June was the first street demonstration in a very long time that was allowed to pass off without being stopped or broken up by the police. The majority of participants were women, many with small children, in light-colored clothes and with dried flowers in their hands. They went from the Church of Maria, where a mass was held for the lives and health of the children, to the Wawel Cathedral where the flowers were laid on the sarcophagus of Queen Jadwiga.

Young people from the Freedom and Peace movement--a movement which is to be found in Warsaw, Wroclaw, and Krakow--joined the demonstration. The movement was formed as a support movement for the recruits who have refused to swear the section of the soldiers' oath which promises loyalty to Poland's great ally.

Freedom and Peace has carried out a collection for humanitarian aid to the people of Afghanistan and has now also begun to involve itself in environmental issues. In Wroclaw it succeeded in May in holding two sit-down demonstrations which took the police so much by surprise that there were no interventions. The movement has been declared illegal and has already met with massive suppression--several dozen members have been imprisoned.

Much of the group's time and energy is therefore spent in keeping tabs on comrades who are being harassed. As if on a conveyor belt people in Poland are sentenced in lightning trials for minor political illegalities to fines which nowadays amount to such high sums that they represent a serious economic burden on the resistance movement. Several members of Freedom and Peace are paying off their 90,000 zloty by sitting in prison.

The environment seems to be an area in which activities are tolerated to a greater extent than areas covering other, more political issues. The Krakow women's demonstration has been followed by an open letter to the city's authorities in which fully formulated and detailed environmental demands are made. It is now being circulated for signature.

Ernest Skalski, a well-known freelance journalist who specializes in economics (he has discovered that there are some possibilities of getting articles critical of society published in that area) said, however, that the state leadership is hardly likely to allow itself to be influenced by the environmentalist protests. The communist state simply sees itself as the country's owner. He compared it to a feudal lord who does what he likes with his property. He can dirty what he likes, and that is no one else's business, not even that of the country's inhabitants.

Skalski mentioned the coal industry as an example of the willful exploitation of ownership rights. Because of the need for foreign currency, production is now pursued in the form of the ruthless exploitation of both people and resources. The most easily exploited strata are exhausted and all future extraction of the deeper-seated coal is made impossible.

The economic crisis is persisting. The government's plan is to emerge from it by 1990, that is, reach by that date the same level that the country had achieved by the end of the seventies (nor was that outstanding--the economic situation was the reason for the dissatisfaction which gave rise to Solidarity). This would mean a period of crisis lasting over 10 years.

Many economists question whether it is possible to reach this goal. The rising production curve achieved in 1982-84 has now leveled out. The increase in production has largely been achieved through holding back investment. Polish industry is being "decapitalized."

There is not much left of the economic reform introduced in 1982 after the demands of the Solidarity movement, according to Skalski--really only a certain formal autonomy for enterprises. The whole of the central apparatus remains, and the economy is managed by decree.

The sector which has functioned best is agriculture, because it is largely private, Skalski said. In addition the weather over the last 4 years has given unusually good harvests. The so-called individual farmers are not, however, without dependence on the state which can control them through its monopoly of the sale of materials and the purchase of products. Private agriculture is kept the whole time on the verge of working at a loss--private enterprise must not be profitable in a socialist economy.

The growing gray sector, which includes craftsmen and the vegetable trade among others, is tolerated and the economy cannot in fact do without it. It lives under the constant threat of tougher measures and actions against it by the authorities. It is repressively controlled, Skalski said.

"The private sector" fills the regime's need for an internal enemy. While I was in Krakow the public order forces struck against "speculators" on one of the city's squares. A speculator can also be a little old woman who stands in winter's cold and summer's heat against a house wall with 10 Swedish plastic bags for sale.

Skalski pointed to the growing wage stratification in Poland. Ideologically motivated endeavors to create equality have been considerably weakened. The median wage of 22,000 zloty is not an average wage--two-thirds of the population have smaller incomes and the section living below subsistence level is growing. The share of wages in production costs reached a maximum of 14 percent in the postwar period. Now it has fallen to 9 percent (before the war it was 21 percent; in Western countries it normally amounts

to around one-third). Skalski said that all Poles, regardless of income level, feel cheated of money. There are few breadwinners who manage on their wages alone.

How far is it to the bottom then, I asked.

In a country like Poland there is always a "deterioration reserve," Skalski said, pointing to Romania. You can toughen the rationing of everyday items, you can turn off electricity during parts of the day, and so on.

And what about the confidence in the regime's ability to get the country out of the precarious position? Jacek Kuron, the indefatigable opposition politician, compared two manifestations of opinion in the last year. In the parliamentary elections last fall 78 percent of Poles voted, according to the official figures (the choice was between voting or not voting). In an official opinion poll recently interviewees were asked about their confidence in the leadership's ability to lift the country out of the crisis. Some 12 percent replied that they had this confidence.

/12858
CSO: 3650/268

POLITICS

POLAND

MEDICAL ACADEMY OFFICIAL ON PZPR STATUS

AU081112 Prague RUDE PRAVO Weekend Supplement in Czech 28 Jun 86 p 3

/Interview with Dr Wojciech Pawlowski, first secretary of the PZPR All-School Committee at the Warsaw Medical Academy, by RUDE PRAVO Warsaw correspondent Pavol Minarik: "What Is New at School?"--date and place not given; initial paragraph is paper's introduction/

/Excerpts/ Since the last, the ninth, PZPR Congress much has changed at the Warsaw Medical Academy. There they already have the state of crisis elicited in 1980 by enemies of socialist Poland behind them. We spoke about this and other things with Dr Wojciech Pawlowski, first secretary of the PZPR All-School Committee at the Warsaw Medical Academy.

Minarik: How many members actually did leave your organization?

Pawlowski: We halted the unfavorable development already in 1983. And regarding those who left the PZPR ranks, there were 300 of them in our organization, overwhelmingly candidate members. Thus there are 456 of us left now. We are fewer in number, but we are more active.

Minarik: What is the student's attitude toward the party, that is, toward membership in the PZPR?

Pawlowski: There is still a lot of work ahead of us. Until recently, only 4 of the 3,730 students at our institute of higher learning were PZPR members! Since the beginning of this year, we have enrolled 10 candidate members, and we plan to enrol further ones. But we do not want to rush things. The change in the awareness of the young generation comes gradually. In the period of crisis, it was precisely in their heads that the enemies of socialism caused the greatest chaos. It also depends on us, communists, how long it will take to overcome it.

Minarik: In what shape is the youth organization at the school?

Pawlowski: In our school the Association of Polish Students operates. Fewer than 10 percent of all students are members. The activity of the association is weakish. Unfortunately, to this day it has not got over the teething troubles' period. It has no program to resolve the students' real problems. The small number of members also arises from this fact.

Minarik: As far as I am informed a considerable part of youth is under the influence of the clergy.

Pawlowski: One should not constantly cry over that fact, but one must do something and find solutions. One of them is a good youth organization. However, to be such it has to have an attractive program and must show that it is of use to students. And at present we are orienting the activity of our party organization in that direction. We also plan to assist members of the youth organization with their material problems.

/12228

CSO: 2400/338

POLITICS

POLAND

NEW 'YOUTH LAW' PUBLISHED, REGULATIONS GIVEN

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 21, 4 Jun 86, pos 108, pp 289-294

[Law, dated 22 May 1986, on Rules Governing the Participation of Young People in the Nation's Governmental, Civic, Economic, and Cultural Affairs]

[Text] Proceeding from the fact that the future of the nation and social, economic and cultural progress of the People's Republic of Poland depend on the concerted effort of our entire society in bringing up, educating and providing vocational training for the young people; recognizing the upbringing of young people in the spirit of humanistic social ideals of socialism and multifaceted development of their personality, talents and physical condition to be one of the basic tasks of state policy; in accordance with the principle that the role and function of young people in a society depend on their active participation and proper fulfillment of basic civil duties and with a view to creating an environment for full participation of young people in the nation's governmental, civic, economic and cultural affairs and sharing by them the responsibility for the development of the nation and the socialist state, the following is resolved:

Chapter 1. General Regulations

Article 1.1. The state and local government organs are obligated to create a favorable environment for the conscious, responsible and comprehensive participation of young people in reaching the common goals of the people and the state and reinforcing socialist relations in society.

2. The actions referred to in paragraph 1 must be geared to specific groups of young people depending on their age, profession and social position.

Article 2.1. Young people are under a civic obligation to use their talents, knowledge and effort for the good, progress and security of the country.

2. Young people are obligated constantly to improve their education and professional skills, to work diligently and honestly, to carry out civic duties conscientiously, to represent socialist Poland honorably and prepare to defend her, to abide by the legal regulations, laws and public order, to respect the principles of interpersonal relations, to observe socialist labor discipline, to safeguard and reinforce socialist property, to show respect for

the veterans of war and labor and to cooperate in preventing the causes and manifestations of deviance in social relations.

3. Young people are obligated to participate vigorously in the life and activities of schools, enterprises and other communities in order to contribute to the social, economic and cultural progress of the People's Republic of Poland in its capacity of a socialist state.

Article 3.1. The state will ensure continuous scientific research into the issues of young people and will make the results of this research available to pertinent agencies, organizational units and organizations.

2. State agencies and other state organizational units as well as cooperative and social organizations are obligated to use the results of research referred to in paragraph 1 in their activities involving young people.

Chapter 2. Upbringing and Education of Young People

Article 4.1. State agencies, schools and other educational institutions, enterprises, cooperative and social organizations carry out educational activities with a view to promoting:

- 1) the feeling of shared responsibility for the progress and security of the motherland and perpetuating peace in the world,
- 2) attitudes conforming to the principles of socialist humanism, specifically: patriotism and internationalism, respect for work and high professional ethics, social awareness, abiding by the legal regulations, law and public order, respect for socialist property, responsibility for both personal actions and those of others, personal dignity and upright character, respect for the older generation, capability to act creatively on one's own, respect for the natural environment and preservation of its value as well as the appreciation of beauty.

2. State agencies, schools and other educational institutions as well as enterprises are obligated to spread knowledge among young people, especially scientific and technical knowledge. Activities in this field are undertaken and supported by socialist youth organizations.

3. The upbringing and education of young people should facilitate embarking on independent social and professional activities in line with their aptitudes, skills and health conditions.

Article 5.1. Patriotic and military training of young people for the defense of the motherland, promoting patriotic and internationalist feelings and civic attitudes, is an integral part of the system of upbringing.

2. The armed forces of the People's Republic of Poland play a special role in patriotic and military training of young people by molding their moral and political values, and especially patriotic and internationalist attitudes, civic responsibility for the future of the country, as well as discipline, courage and resilience in service and work.

Article 6.1. The authorities and local administration as well as schools and

other educational institutions are obligated to create opportunities for equal access to education for the young people from all social strata and, while promoting the development of individual gifts and personality, to facilitate the equalization of access for the young people from working-class and peasant backgrounds, as well as assist in choosing a profession and preparing them for independent life.

2. The authorities and local administration, as well as schools and other educational institutions are responsible for creating an environment conducive to emulation drives and competition in studies and volunteer work; also, they cooperate in providing for the development of culture, physical education and tourism.

3. Socialist youth organizations and other social organizations, high-school and college student self-government bodies and science circles participate in carrying out assignments referred to in paragraph 2; also, they get involved in activities benefitting the schools and other educational institutions in which they operate.

Article 7.1. Parents and legal guardians must ensure the upbringing, education and care of young people.

2. If parents or legal guardians evade the responsibilities referred to in paragraph 1, pertinent state agencies enforce the execution of said responsibilities in accordance with the regulations in effect.

3. If parents or legal guardians are not in a position to discharge the responsibilities referred to in paragraph 1, pertinent state agencies provide the necessary assistance.

4. Steps referred to in paragraphs 2 and 3 can also be undertaken on the initiative of or upon soliciting the opinion of socialist youth organizations or other social organizations.

5. The Council of Ministers determines the extent and sets the guidelines for the assistance referred to in paragraph 3 by decree, upon consulting socialist youth organizations and other social organizations.

Article 8.1. Education by labor plays a special role in the system of upbringing.

2. Well organized and socially beneficial work plays a proper educational role.

3. Young people should be imbued with respect for work, the duty to observe socialist labor discipline, the need to be socially active and responsible for one's actions.

4. Provisions of paragraphs 1 through 3 apply accordingly to work within the framework of curriculum, high-school apprenticeships and college students' practical training as well as volunteer service and other work.

5. State administration organs, state organizational units and cooperative organizations must provide conditions for young people to work during study breaks.

Article 9.1. Operation of the OHP [Volunteer Labor Brigades] facilitates fulfillment of the tasks referred to in article 8 in the fields of upbringing and vocational and military training of young people.

2. The Council of Ministers designates by decree the tasks, organization and mode of financing and supervising the OHP, as well as the tasks of the agencies of state administration as well as state organizational units and cooperative organizations which support the OHP activities.

Article 10.1. Enterprise managers must:

- 1) provide conditions facilitating proper professional and social adjustment of young employees,
- 2) undertake steps promoting active involvement in discharging professional and civic responsibilities,
- 3) promote socially beneficial initiatives sponsored by young people.

2. Managers of enterprises carry out the tasks referred to in paragraph 1 in cooperation with the socialist youth organizations, trade unions and social organizations operating in enterprises, using for this purpose, among other things, the organizational units within these enterprises with responsibilities for social and professional adaptation and vocational training.

3. Youth production teams can be created in enterprises on the initiative of socialist youth organizations, trade unions, political and social organization operating in the enterprise, or its manager.

4. Activities of youth production teams serve to:

- 1) motivate young employees to improve productivity and quality of labor and facilitate innovations in production,
- 2) promote comprehensive self-improvement of young employees, especially the enhancement of their vocational skills,
- 3) mold the socialist mode of interpersonal relations in enterprises.

Article 11.1. State agencies, organizational units and cooperative and social organizations must create an environment making it possible for young people to partake in the achievements of culture and their creative enhancement.

2. Socialist youth organizations can set up units and institutions promoting culture as well as artistic units using [financial] aid of the state and their own funds along the guidelines set forth in other regulations; likewise, they participate in managing the operation of state and enterprise units and institutions promoting culture.

Article 12. State agencies and social organizations must support vigorous participation by young people in physical education and tourism in a way promoting their harmonious development, healthiness and improvement of their psychophysical condition, especially by proper use of the already available

facilities and appropriate development of the latter.

Article 13. Schools and other educational and upbringing facilities, social youth organizations and other social organizations raise the consciousness of young people in the field of environmental protection.

Article 14. Mass media, including radio and television, take part in bringing up and educating young people and ensure that their representatives take part in program development in accordance with the goals set forth in the present law.

Chapter 3. Protection of the Standard of Living of Young People

Article 15. The authorities and state administration must undertake effective actions ensuring equal conditions for studies, vocational training and employment for [all] young people.

Article 16. While ensuring financial support for young people in educational institutions, the state gives priority to the young people in a difficult financial situation. The system of aid should be tied to the results of studies and work.

Article 17.1 Taking into account the guidelines set forth in other regulations, enterprises must create conditions favorable for the beginning of careers and social activities of young employees, including in particular:

- 1) construction, remodelling and equipment of employee dormitories and canteens,
- 2) use of enterprise housing and social funds for aid to young employees who have distinguished themselves in work, including supplementary funding of apartment deposits and loans for housing cooperatives membership,
- 3) support for construction within the framework of youth cooperatives and building associations and comprehensive assistance to these cooperatives and associations,
- 4) provision of opportunities to improve one's education in line with the needs of the enterprise.

2. Appropriate state agencies must create favorable conditions for young peasants using loans and other forms of assistance to purchase, take over and operate a farm.

3. Appropriate state agencies must create favorable conditions for the beginning of family life for young couples through, among other things, a system of loans for newlyweds, the forms and guidelines for which are set forth in other regulations.

4. The Council of Ministers, upon consulting socialist youth organizations, can establish forms of aid to young employees and peasants other than those mentioned in paragraphs 1 through 3 as well as the guidelines and modes of granting such aid.

Article 18.1. Health care for young people is provided by the units of the public health service geared to the needs of their psychophysical development. Also, young people are made aware of the health information and the need to preserve one's health.

2. Young people are subject to comprehensive health checkups in different forms along the guidelines set forth in other regulations.

3. Upon consulting socialist youth organizations, the minister of health and social welfare will set forth the extent, guidelines and mode of carrying out preventive checkups of young people not subject to them thus far.

Article 19.1. Statutory health evaluations of young people are introduced.

2. Organs of state and state administration, public health service units, other state organizational units and enterprises must use in their activities the results of evaluations referred to in paragraph 1 in order to neutralize present health hazards and eliminate them, as well as in order to improve health care for young people.

3. Provisions of paragraph 2 apply accordingly to cooperative and social organizations.

4. Upon consulting socialist youth organizations, the Council of Ministers will determine the guidelines and mode of carrying out and using health evaluations of young people.

Article 20.1. Conditions will be created for young invalids and the handicapped to begin social and professional activities which their aptitude, qualifications and health status allow.

2. Agencies of state administration must provide for and ensure an appropriate volume of production of aids for young invalids and the handicapped enabling them to carry out everyday activities, study and be gainfully employed.

3. Records of invalid and handicapped young people are kept for the ends referred to in paragraphs 1 and 2.

4. The Council of Ministers will establish by decree:

1) the guidelines and mode of keeping the records of invalid and handicapped young people as well as the agencies responsible for these matters,

2) upon consulting socialist youth organizations, the extent and forms of aid for young invalids and handicapped.

Article 21. High school and full-time college students are entitled to reduced fees for using cultural, sports and recreation facilities as well as reduced rates for attending cultural, sports and recreation events as outlined in other regulations.

Article 22. State agencies, schools and other educational facilities, enterprises, socialist youth organizations and other social organizations must counteract the causes and manifestations of social deviance.

Chapter 4. Civic Participation of Young People

Article 23. In particular, civic participation of young people is expressed through:

- 1) taking part in the implementation of social, economic and cultural development tasks set by the state,
- 2) preparing to defend the motherland and socialist achievements of the people,
- 3) taking part in activities aimed at preserving and defending peace,
- 4) reinforcing the rule of people's law, legality and public order,
- 5) being active in political and social organizations,
- 6) taking part in the organs of authority and various forms of social self-government as well as in reinforcing socialist democracy,
- 7) initiating activities for the benefit of environmental protection,
- 8) taking part in creating folk culture, including personal contributions in this field,
- 9) developing activities in the field of physical education and tourism.

Article 24. In particular, young people are granted the right to:

- 1) make a statement on the way in which funds earmarked for the implementation of state policy are used in matters of concern to young people,
- 2) make a statement on draft legal acts,
- 3) run economic operations, including in particular housing construction in various organizational forms,
- 4) initiate the construction of cultural, sports and tourist facilities and structures,
- 5) operate cultural, sports and tourist facilities.

Article 25. The authorities and state administration organs, state organizational units as well as cooperative organizations must, in particular:

- 1) support the initiatives of young people aimed at developing the national economy,
- 2) support the actions of young people in modernizing rural areas, making advances in agriculture and ensuring our country's self-sufficiency in food,
- 3) provide conditions facilitating the adaptation and socio-professional advancement of young employees in keeping with the guidelines on personnel and wage policies, including advancement due to improved vocational and professional qualifications,
- 4) support the initiatives of young employees in the field of scientific-technical progress and implementation,
- 5) support the initiatives of young people on environmental protection and the preservation of the environment,
- 6) create conditions for the advancement of exceptionally gifted young people,
- 7) create conditions facilitating greater participation by young people in the activities of the organs of authority and all forms of social

self-government,

8) support the initiatives of young people in the field of culture, physical education and tourism.

Chapter 5. Socialist Youth Organizations

Article 26. Socialist youth organizations take part in the process of education and socialist upbringing of young people, encourage their social activism and organize their work for the social, economic and cultural development of the country, defend their rights and represent their interests.

Article 27.1. Socialist youth organizations can initiate and manage the economic operations of young people in the form of wholly owned or mixed enterprises, cooperatives, participation in companies and sponsorship of youth production cooperatives and housing construction cooperatives.

2. Economic activities outlined in paragraph 1 are organized according to the needs and opportunities in a given area; their proceeds should support statutory activities of socialist youth organizations.

3. Guidelines for the economic operations referred to in paragraph 1 are contained in separate regulations.

Article 28.1. Socialist youth organizations have the right of representation in all matters involving young people.

2. In particular, socialist youth organizations are entitled to:

1) make a statement on draft legal acts of concern to young people, especially those involving personnel and wage policies, professional and social advancement, social security benefits, housing construction, education and upbringing, college education, health care, culture, physical education and tourism,

2) present their views on other issues in the operation of state, social, economic and cultural concerns.

3. The right outlined in paragraph 2 point 1 does not extend to draft legal acts concerning the defense and security of the state.

4. Socialist youth organizations enjoy the right to make proposals on promulgating or amending a legal act involving issues of concern to young people.

5. The state agency receiving a proposal referred to in paragraph 4 must present its response to the proposal to the socialist youth organization within 1 month, accompanied by explanations in case the response is negative.

Article 29. Agencies of state and economic administration must provide conditions enabling socialist youth organizations to exercise their rights and, in particular, they must furnish information on matters of statutory interest to these organizations, except in cases when state and service secrets must be protected.

Article 30.1. At the request of the provincial echelon of socialist youth organizations and upon consulting the latter, the enterprise manager must release from work an employee elected to a post at an enterprise youth organization in accordance with the guidelines contained in a decree of the Council of Ministers.

2. An enterprise must grant a leave of absence without pay to an employee elected to a post in a socialist youth organization along the guidelines and in the fashion envisioned by the labor code.

3. An enterprise manager must grant a paid leave to an employee for time needed to carry out temporary activities associated with his function in a socialist youth organization if they cannot be carried out after business hours.

Article 31.1. An enterprise cannot dismiss nor terminate the labor contract with an employee who is a member of the enterprise board of the socialist youth organization for the duration of his term in office except when circumstances occur which justify the termination of contract without notice. The labor contract can be terminated with the prior consent of the proper local echelon of a socialist youth organization.

2. Provisions of paragraph 1, second sentence, do not apply if the enterprise is liquidated or if the employee in question becomes eligible for category I or II aid for the handicapped.

3. An enterprise cannot change the salary or job conditions to the detriment of an employee who is a member of the enterprise board of the socialist youth organization over the period specified in paragraph 1 unless the change becomes necessary due to circumstances referred to in article 43, paragraph 1 of the Labor Code.

4. Provisions of paragraphs 1 through 3 apply accordingly in cases when the employee is hired through nomination or on the basis of a cooperative labor contract.

5. Provisions of paragraphs 1 through 4 apply accordingly to an employee elected to serve on the board of a socialist youth organization, provided that the board of the echelon with pertinent statutory responsibilities which employs the person in question consents to termination of the labor contract without notice.

Article 32.1. An employee referred by the socialist youth organization to participate in organizing recreational activities of children and young people has the right to select the time of leave during which he will serve as a volunteer leader or in another capacity at the camp, colony, course or at another recreational facility for children and young people. In case an employee holds a similar salaried position, the enterprise grants him a leave without pay for not more than 26 days a year.

2. A confirmation of the referral to the position outlined in paragraph 1 is needed in order to exercise the right therein. A certificate to that effect is issued by the central or provincial echelons of socialist youth organizations.

Article 33. As far as resources allow, enterprise or school managers as well as local authorities must provide space and technical facilities needed for the socialist youth organizations operating on their premises.

Article 34. Socialist youth organizations can join international youth organizations in order to represent the interests of their membership in the international forum and reinforce the international solidarity of young people in the name of peace, progress and social justice, in keeping with the foreign policy of the People's Republic of Poland.

Chapter 6. State Foundation for Young People

Article 36. The State Foundation for Young People, henceforth "the foundation," is created.

Article 37.1. The foundation derives income from the earnings by young people, subsidies from the state budget, transfers from organizations of the young people or those working on behalf of the younger generation, voluntary donations, grants by physical and legal persons as well as moneys transferred by [other] foundations along with other income determined by the Council of Ministers.

2. Moneys of the foundation are allocated to support in particular:

- 1) volunteer work and economic initiatives undertaken by young people,
- 2) self-education, scientific-technical and innovative activities of young people,
- 3) publishing for children and young people,
- 4) aid to orphans, residents of orphanages and invalid and handicapped young people,
- 5) cultural and entertainment activities, sports and tourism for children and young people.

3. Monies of the foundation not spent in a given year are available for the next year.

4. Upon consulting a socialist youth organization, the Council of Ministers will set by decree specific guidelines for accumulating, disbursing and managing the funds.

5. In matters not regulated by the present law, regulations on target-oriented foundations issued pursuant to the budget law apply.

Chapter 7. Final Regulations

Article 38. When the following terms are used in the present law:

- 1) socialist youth organizations - the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth], the ZMW [Union of Rural Youth], the ZHP [Union of Polish Scouts] and the ZSP [Association of Polish Students] are meant,
- 2) schools - elementary and high schools and colleges are meant,
- 3) educational and upbringing facilities - facilities taking part in caring for, bringing up and educating young people including, in particular, the facilities referred to in regulations on the development of the system of education and upbringing.

Article 39. The law takes effect on 1 January 1987.

For the Chairman of the Council of State: K. Barcikowski
Secretary of the Council of State: Z. Surowiec

9761
CSO: 2600/528

POLITICS

POLAND

WRITERS SEEN AS AVOIDING CRUCIAL PROBLEMS

AU032010 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 21 Jun 86 pp 1, 8, 9

/Article by Kazimierz Kozniewski, member of the POLITYKA Department of Culture:
"Frustration and Helplessness Are in Fashion--Polish Writers"/

/Excerpts/ Cultural policy that is aware of its duties toward national and international culture must ensure that readers and national culture are confronted with a most extensive possible range of various literary works. However, concern for the most extensive range of such works is one thing, and concern of writers and publishing policy for ensuring that these works reach the widest sections of readers is another. This poses a problem that I regard as peculiar, to say the least. The problem is that an entire quite large generation of younger Polish writers has given up all attempts to make itself interesting to more extensive sections of readers. This conduct appears to be voluntary and to represent a kind of demonstration. Perhaps there is some essential justification for it.

It appears that Polish writers--let us call these literary people writers for the sake of peace--have demonstratively turned away from their readers and have dedicated themselves to exclusively linguistic, stylistic, and compositional experiments to prove that they are more interested in the originality of their art of using words than in reaching rapport with readers. At the same time, these very same writers shun like the plague those subjects that are most important for readers--the basic moral, social, ideological, and political issues. Yes, political issues! Instead they continue to fathom the psychology of the people on the fring of society and to analyze the frustration of individuals.

Take a look: We have now a literature or rather "literature" that few readers read, that produces very boring plots, that is devoid of problems, and that contains intellectual achievements that in no way measure up to the efforts one has to make to get through its stylistic and compositional crabbedness, which is a cover for emptiness. I wrote about all this at one time when reviewing the most recent book written by Tadeusz Siejak, who used his literary art to describe to us a political and ideological imbecile. I suspect that if the author of PROBA /TRIAL/ had written in line with his most lofty intellectual abilities and not his lowest ones and if he had wanted to address his most important subjects in his own satisfying manner, he would have encountered considerable ideological and intellectual troubles, would have failed to cope

with these subjects, and would have suffered a complete literary defeat. It would have become obvious that he understands nothing of the world around him in the same way as at one time Andrzej Brycht understood nothing of the reality of Vietnam or Germany around him. It seems to me that the real reason why so many middle-aged and young writers dedicate themselves to stylistic and compositional experiments, tackle fringe problems, and choose just any shallow and frustrated hero is their own frustration as authors in today's reality. The simple thing is that they do not understand the times in which they live and are unable to rationally interpret them. They are lost. They have no positive or negative attitude toward them.

As for our people, they refuse to read their own authors and those foreign authors who engage themselves in the same formal experiments and in unceasing analyses of the psychological states of those who are failures harassed by frustration. Our people are tired of the insubstantial nature of modern literature. What is too much is too much!

It would be a very bad thing if modern literature became dominated by a single subject and creative method. As a monopolistic method of literature, socialist realism was just as dangerous to our literature, that is culture, as is the trend toward the style of Joyce or Faulkner or Henryk Bereza, who wants to exert his influence on young writers.

The value of literature is measured by its greatest possible variety in every way. My anxiety is based on my findings about the great extent to which literary balance has now been upset in one obvious direction--away from the plots involving crucial social, ideological, and moral problems of our times.

/12228
CSO: 2600/558

POLITICS

POLAND

PZPR'S MURANSKI VISITS WORKERS IN SILESIA

LD082351 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 8 Jul 86

/Report from Katowice by Jerzy Zawarski/

/Text/ This afternoon Zygmunt Muranski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, met the workers of the Silesia Metallurgical works. /passage indistinct/

/Begin recording/ /unidentified voice/ The comrade will deal with matters of young people, that is, questions of the young generation's start in life, their standard of living, and so on. Does this start and the standard of living have to be worked for? Does the comrade, think that youth should try to do things for themselves, too?

/Muranski/ Yes, if young people want a better start, a better standard of living, then they have to take part directly in this process. I cannot imagine an improvement in the living standards of young people without their participation. And the fact that the party counts on young people, and relies on young people, can be seen from my example, from the fact that I am a Politburo member at the age of 34.

/different voice/ Comrade Muranski comes from our region which is under the greatest ecological and other threat in Poland. I am convinced that many Politburo members, who do not live in our conditions, simply do not understand this fact. I would like to know how Comrade Muranski will present this problem--and I have no doubt that he is very concerned with this problem--to the rest of society in Poland to convince them that this is the issue concerns all of Poland and not just the Silesian region?

/Muranski/ First of all we must stop this threat--this is fundamental--so that the pollution is no longer emitted. After all, tons of it are falling on our heads, in every city. But do not just look at the industry, look around you. That is the more difficult thing, and this depends on us too.

/different voice/ The society which built people's Poland in the fifties and sixties is now retired. Their pensions are very modest. Will retirement payments be paid on the basis of what one earns in the last 2 years, or is one to be paid for what one earned while building people's Poland?

/Muranski/ Much has already been said about the old pensions system, but as the Comrade premier said, this cannot be changed immediately. This has been so neglected for many years that right now (?it is impossible). It has to be done gradually; we shall get there step by step; there might be difficulties. /words indistinct/ signals from you, from the grassroots, that things are good or bad, this and that, but if there is discontent then please submit such problems either to the (?officials concerned) /instancja/ or the voivodship committee. I am simply saying that you must let us know about these things.
/end recording/

/12228
CSO: 2600/558

POLITICS

POLAND

MURANSKI DESCRIBES DAY'S WORK AS FOREMAN, PZPR CC MEMBER

LD080849 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 2052 GMT 4 Jul 86

Interview with PZPR Politburo member Zygmunt Muranski, identified by screen caption as head shift foreman of the Rydułtowy hard coal mine and member of the PZPR Central Committee without reference to his Politburo position, with unidentified reporter; date and place not specified--recorded; no video available/

Text/ Reporter/ We met Comrade Zygmunt on his way to work. What have you planned for today?

Muranski/ On today's agenda I have a meeting with the party aktiv, with secretaries of the departmental organizations, with the union and youth leadership and of course with the executive of the works committee, as well as the colliery management.

Reporter/ What, in concrete terms, do you intend to say at this meeting?

Muranski/ I intend to speak about the discussion that took place on the criticism of certain things. I want to say that it has not been smoothed over. People spoke frankly and openly, but with the optimism that by our joint effort the program and the resolutions we adopted will be implemented; we must implement them if we want things to be better.

The other thing I want to say is on the issue of the continuation by the 10th Congress of the line of renewal and accord as well as the adoption of the long-term program up to the year 2000. These actions are important, not just for one term of office, but in that they look farther ahead to the country's development prospects. One colleague asked me if things are going to get better, so I asked him if he wants things to get better. He said he does, so I said to him: Let us get to work together and things will get better. He admitted I am right; no matter how good your programs are, if no concrete work, concrete implementation or consistency is forthcoming, the program cannot succeed.

Reporter/ We already know that you are 34 years old. What else can be said about Zygmunt Muranski?

Muranski/ Married; two boys, aged 9 and 6 years, that is they will be in August.

Reporter/ Thanks for the interview. I wish you good luck.

POLITICS

POLAND

BRIEFS

USSR-POLISH SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION--The Academies of Sciences of Poland and the Soviet Union will cooperate on 162 subjects in the areas of biological, technical, and exact sciences in the current 5-year period. Keep up with everything that is new in world science and implement in economic and social practice the results achieved by scientific research, said Professor Nikolay Basov, a prominent Soviet physicist and a Nobel prize winner, discussing the tasks of scientists of both states after signing a protocol on Polish-Soviet scientific cooperation, in Warsaw. /Text/ /Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 10 Jul 86 LD/ 12228

WARSAW TELEX CENTER--In Warsaw an election international telex center has been commissioned. Since it is computer-controlled, the manpower required to staff it has been reduced. In addition to telex message, it can also handle international telegrams. /Summary/ /Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 10 Jul 86 LD/ 12228

BARCIKOWSKI ON COUNCIL OF STATE SESSION--Someone may ask why the Council of State was examining the congress resolutions today. Well, our Council of State is a body in which-in which are represented /as heard/ representatives of various allied parties, Catholic associations, nonparty ones. And all-all are working in the cause of the development of our state and the regulation of relations within it so that they may be the best possible. That is also why it was important to consider, in this circle, what are the effects for the Council of State of the party congress resolutions in leading the country, playing a guiding role in the development of our political system. /Text/ /Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 10 Jul 86 LD/ 12228

LEADERS VISIT FACTORIES, MILLS--The question of solutions to promote better work dominated the talks between Marian Wozniak, Politburo member and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and workers and party activists at the Karol Swierczewski precision engineering works in Warsaw. Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of State, visited the Adolf Warski shipyard in Szczecin. Alfred Miodowicz today met with miners at the Szombierki colliery; and Zygmunt Muranski met with workers of the Silesia steelworks in Rybnik. Zofia Stepien visited the workers of the Welropol and (Alanex) worsted spinning mills, the Ceba cotton industry mill, and the Warta linen industry mill in Czestochowa. Gabriela Rembisz visited the shop floor at the Poznan harvest machinery works.

Stanislaw Ciosek, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, visited the (Kabe.) electronics factory. He was a delegate from Koszalin voivodship to the 10th Party Congress. He participated in many precongress meetings in Koszalin Voivodship. Today he answered many questions concerning the congress and its course. He also listened to many opinions. /Excerpts/ /Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 8 Jul 86 LD/ 12228

MESSNER, FERENSTAJN VISIT SOSNOWIEC ENTERPRISE--In accordance with the announcement contained in the closing speech of Wojciech Jaruzelski first secretary of the party Central Committee, at the 10th Congress, instead of a session of the Politburo today, its members have gone to meetings with workforces in the factories. The workforce of the Fabeb Building Components Production Enterprise in Sosnowiec was visited by Zbigniew Messner and Bogumil Ferensztajn. The visits to work enterprises should become yet another example of the consistent strengthening of the ties of the party with the working class and the enrichment of the forms of contact for the party authorities at all levels with workforces. /Text/ /Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 8 Jul 86 LD/ 12228

AGREEMENT WITH MALTA--An executive program for an agreement concluded 5 years ago was signed today in Warsaw by the heads of the Ministries of Health of Poland and Malta; Miroslaw Cybulko, and Vincent Moran. The document provides for the exchange of information and materials, postgraduate training of Maltese doctors in Poland, exchange of experts, and establishing contacts between scientific and research centers. /Text/ /Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 9 Jul 86 LD/ 12228

CZYREK RECEIVES FRG BUNDESTAG OFFICIAL--Jozef Czyrek, chairman of the Sejm Foreign Affairs Commission, has met Hans Stercken, president of the Inter-parliamentary Union Council and chairman of the Bundestag Foreign Affairs Commission, who is on a visit to our country. Jozef Czyrek stressed the determination to continue Poland's active role in international relations, in strengthening peace, detente, and cooperation. During the conversation emphasis was placed upon the growing importance of the efforts being made by parliaments and all people of good will to halt the arms race and avert the threat of nuclear disaster. /Text/ /Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 8 Jul 86 LD/ 12228

REMBISZ ADDRESSES POZNAN FACTORY WORKERS--Member of the Politburo /as heard/ Gabriela Rembisz has had a meeting with the work force of her parent enterprise, R'omil of Poznan. /Begin Rembisz recording/ Colleagues, comrades, received me so cordially, and of course we immediately started talking. They asked about various things, about the course of the congress. And there were questions about, well, what needs to be done now? Indeed, one employee said: If we don't get down to work, nobody is going to do it for us. I already have two adult daughters, married. I have three grandchildren. The eldest is now attending the first class. I love them very much. Only I am afraid that I shall now have less and less time for them all, and generally I am worried that. Well, the daughter I live with has two children, and I won't be much good to her as far as help with the house work is concerned. And you know how difficult it still is to buy anything. And, and really, I think things are most difficult for women in the current situation. /end recording/ /Excerpts/ /Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 5 Jul 86 LD/ 12228

BARCIKOWSKI VISITS WARSKI--/No dateline as received/ Szczecin--K. Barcikowski visited the Warski Shipyard, meeting with members of his parent party organization in Department K-2. He also took part in a meeting with representatives of socialized agriculture. /Text/ /Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 8 Jul 86 LD/ 12228

OUTGOING USSR CONSUL GENERAL--/No dateline as received/ A ceremony took place in the USSR Consulate General in Szczecin to mark the conclusion of the tour of the USSR's consul general in Szczecin, W. Basanc. /Text/ /Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 8 Jul 86 LD/ 12228

RADA NARODOWA WEEKLY REINSTATED--PAP--The first issue of the State Council's weekly RADA NARODOWA /PEOPLE'S COUNCIL/ is now on sale. In a prominently placed message State Council Chairman Wojciech Jaruzelski explains why the weekly has been reinstated: "The system of the people's councils and territorial self-government bodies is one of the mainstays of people's rule in Poland and the basic element of socialist democracy, an element that has been tested for the past 40 years. Responding to numerous demands from the people's councillors and self-government activists, the State Council decided to reinstate RADA NARODOWA, which was launched in 1973. I am deeply convinced that the people's councillors and the activists in the self-government bodies of urban and rural dwellers will not only be avid readers of this weekly, but also active contributors. This is because the weekly will be able to accomplish its tasks effectively only if it helps the people's councillors and self-government activists to overcome their difficulties, comprehensively propagate their experience, and express their opinions and views...." The first issue of the weekly has the following standing rubrics: "From Week to Week," "The State Council at Work," "The Government at Work," "In Accordance with the Law," "From the Official Gazette," "Interpretations," and "Tasks and Powers of the People's Councils." An interesting item in RADA NARODOWA is an article on the first verdict reached by the Constitutional Tribunal. The title of the article is "Let Law Be Always Law." /Text/ /Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 20 Jun 86 p 2 AU/ 12228

GOVERNMENT PRESIDIUM ON SANITATION--The Government Presidium familiarized itself with the hygiene and epidemiological situation in Poland. It evaluated the implementation of the program adopted last year to improve the hygiene and epidemiological situation. The number of instances of certain contagious diseases fell in 1985. There continued, however, to be many cases of good poisoning resulting poor hygiene. Almost 200,000 places producing food were inspected, and bad sanitation was confirmed in almost 45 percent of them. The Government Presidium recommended the consistent implementation of the program to improve the sanitary-epidemiological situation and also tasked the minister of health and social welfare with preparing a timetable for this. /Text/ /Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 7 Jul 86 LD/ 12228

SZACILO ATTENDS SILESIAN MILITARY DISTRICT MEETING--A meeting was held on Saturday /6 July/ at the club of the Silesian military district in Wroclaw between the leading party political aktiv of the units of the Silesian Military District and members of the PZPR Central Committee, head of the Main Political Administration of the Polish Army, Lieutenant General Tadeusz Szacilo, and

head of the Political Administration /of the Silesian district/, Major General Dr Zdzislaw Rozbicki. Also present at the meeting were District Commander Lieutenant General Jan Kurjata, as well as delegates to the 10th PZPR Congress. Much attention was paid during the discussion to interpersonal relations, to discipline and cohesion of party ranks. The gathering was also informed of the tasks for party members in the next 5-year period arising from the 10th Congress resolution. Much attention also was turned to the party's ideology and the PZPR's long-term program. /Text/ /Wroclaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 7 Jul 86 LD/ 12228

NEW AMBASSADOR TO FRG--Wojciech Jaruzelski has received Tadeusz Nestorowicz, Poland's newly appointed ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany. /Text/ /Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 6 Jul 86 LD/ 12228

AMBASSADORS PRESENT CREDENTIALS--Warsaw, 9 Jul--Vice President of the Council of State Kazimierz Barcikowski received at an audience today Ambassador of the Republic of Burundi Proces Bigirimana who presented his credentials. Next, Ambassador Bigirimana was received by the vice president of the Council of State at a private audience. In connection with the start of his mission in Poland the Burundian ambassador laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. Also today Kazimierz Barcikowski received at an audience ambassador of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg Robert Bloes who presented his credentials. Then, the Luxembourg ambassador was received by Barcikowski at a private audience. In connection with the start of his mission in this country Robert Bloes laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. /Text/ /Warsaw PAP in English 2113 GMT 9 Jul 86 LD/ 12228

KADAR, CEUSESCU CONGRATULATE JARUZELSKI--Warsaw, 8 Jul--In connection with his re-election to the post of PUWP CC First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski has received congratulatory cables from Janos Kadar, the general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and Nicolae Ceausescu, the general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party. On behalf of the parties' Central Committees and their own, they wish the PZPR CC first secretary and the entire Polish nation full successes in realizing resolutions adopted by the 10th Congress, and in actions aimed at developing socialist Poland. /Text/ /Warsaw PAP in English 1829 GMT 8 Jul 86 LD/ 12228

JARUZELSKI RECEIVES IPU'S STERCKEN--Warsaw, 9 Jul--President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski received here today chairman of the Interparliamentary Union Council Hans Stercken, on official visit to Poland at the invitation of the Sejm (Polish Parliament). During the talk, the sides stressed the role of the interparliamentary union as a forum for political contacts serving detente and consolidation of peaceful cooperation. While stressing major directions of Poland's foreign policy, which were reflected during the debates and documents of the 10th PZPR Congress, Wojciech Jaruzelski stated that Poland will continue to contribute active and important share to the consolidation of peaceful coexistence of nations of Europe and the world. The meeting was attended by ambassador of the FRG to Poland Franz Pfeffer. /Text/ /Warsaw PAP in English 1410 GMT 9 Jul 86 LD/ 12228

MALINOWSKI RECEIVES FRENCH DELEGATION--Warsaw, 10 Jul--Poland's Sejm (parliament) speaker Roman Malinowski received here today a delegation of the

French-Polish group of friendship in the senate of the French republic with its chairman Maurice Schumann who arrived in Poland today at the invitation from the Sejm. The Sejm speaker told his French guests that the reconstruction of Polish-French relations, including the interparliamentary ones and return to traditionally good contacts would not only favourably serve the two nations and states, but could be a creative contribution to strengthening the climate of international dialogue and agreement as well. Head of the French delegation Senator Schumann emphasized that the aim of the visit of the French parliamentarians was to tighten contacts and enter dialogue. He also underscored the interest in Polish matters in views of the recent 10th PUWP Congress and analyses of its significance in the French press. The meeting was attended by French Ambassador to Poland Jean-Francois Noiville. The visit of French senators, together with the visit to France paid by a delegation of the Polish-French group of friendship in Poland's Sejm in 1984 at the invitation of the National Assembly, actually means a renewal of contacts between the Sejm and both chambers of the French parliament. /Text/ /Warsaw PAP in English 0145 GMT 11 Jul 86 LD/ 12228

IPU'S STERCKEN ENDS VISIT AFTER TALKS--Warsaw, 9 Jul--Hans Stercken, chairman of the Interparliamentary Union Council, ended his official visit to Poland today. During talks held between Stercken and members of the Council of the Polish Parliamentary Group by the Sejm /as received/ (parliament), the sides discussed the need to increase the union's role in international life. Stercken stressed that the union faces especially important tasks linked with the strengthening of peace and expansion of political, cultural and economic contacts among states. The chairman of the union council pointed with recognition to the activities of the Polish group at the union's forum, which served detente and contributed to arriving at stands in some of the most important issues, and to openness of Polish parliamentarians. At the same time, it was stressed that more pressure should be put at the union's forum on all that links and not what divides the sides concerned. Due to the fact that Hans Stercken is also chairman of the Bundestag Committee for Foreign Affairs, the sides also discussed bilateral problems, searching for new, concrete possibilities to expand contacts and cooperation. /Text/ /Warsaw PAP in English 1500 GMT 9 Jul 86 LD/ 12228

SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN--Warsaw, 2 Jul (AFP)--Solidarity is planning a month-long protest in September, with overtime bans, meetings and petitions, to campaign for better living standards, the union's underground executive TKK said in a communique received here Wednesday. TKK said it would press for improved wages and better working conditions, saying that 42 percent of Poles had suffered a decline in living standards last year, with the poorest families losing as much as 30 percent of their purchasing power. The communique also accused the Polish Government of dismissing the proposals of Solidarity made when it was legal, responding instead with "terror, arrests, repression and violations of civil liberties against a background of constant decline in living and working conditions." The executive also cited a Polish Communist Party report which said 3 million Poles worked in conditions that were "below any standards," while 1,200 Poles died in industrial accidents last year. The communique was signed by TKK's members for Upper and Lower Silesia, Andrzej Gorny and Marek Muszynski, and seven other anonymous TKK members. At

last week's 10th Congress of the Polish Communist Party, Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner called for a new austerity drive to pull the country out of a persistent economic crisis. /Text/ /Paris AFP in English 1605 GMT 2 Jul 86 AU/ 12228

LENIN SHIPYARD FACTORY BIWEEKLY--Warsaw, 26/27 Jun--A pilot edition of the factory biweekly STOCZNIOWIEC (SHIPIARD WORKER) has appeared before the 10th PZPR Congress at the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk today. It will appear regularly starting this August. The paper was created following the decision undertaken during a meeting of the PZPR Political Bureau held in Gdansk in January 1985 in response to workers' postulates. The special edition of STOCZNIOWIEC carries broad information on the precongress campaign, including statements by the shipyard's delegates for the 10th Congress. /Text/ /Warsaw PAP in English 0050 GMT 27 Jun 86 LD/ 12228

YOUNG CUBANS IN LODZ--Warsaw, 28 Jun--The 150-strong third Carlos Roloff-Mialowski brigade staying in Poland began a few day visit to Lodz Voivodship today. The young Cubans spent this afternoon working at the construction site of the Mother's Health Centre Memorial Hospital. Representatives of Cuban youth sent a letter to Wojciech Jaruzelski with greetings and wishes of fruitful debates to delegates to the 10th PZPR Congress. /Text/ /Warsaw PAP in English 0702 GMT 28 Jun 86 LD/ 12228

CSO: 2020/169

POLITICS

ROMANIA

VOLUME OF ESSAYS BY MAINSTREAM POET REVIEWED

[Editorial Report] Bucharest SAPTAMINA in Romanian No 25, 20 June 1986, prints on page 3 a 1,300 word review by Geo Ciolcan entitled "The Eulogy of Romanian Eternity" of a book of essays, short newspaper articles and reviews by Cornelius Vadim Tudor entitled "Mindria de a fi român" ["The Pride of Being a Romanian"]. The titles of some of the items in this book are "The Ardent Patriotism," "The People's Power," "A Lover of Kin and Country," "The Military History of the Romanians," "The Roots of Romanian Culture," "About Certain Romanian Priorities." The first of these, for example, begins with a historical overview taking into account the contributions of some major figures such as Mircea the Great, Tudor Vladimirescu, Iancu of Hunedoara and Michael the Brave and ends by claiming "tribune" Ceausescu's contribution belongs alongside theirs, his presidency being but the culmination of a process begun long ago. In another piece, on the city of Bucharest, Tudor quotes with approval a statement made 50 years ago by a Romanian writer to the effect that Bucharest is destined to become a city "more brilliant than Paris, richer than New York and with a life longer than that of eternal Rome." According to the reviewer, Ciolcan, a large part of this prediction has come true.

/9604
CSO: 2700/215

POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

FURTHER COMMENT ON YOUTH CONGRESS, LJUBLJANA STUDENT PETITION

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 17 Jun 86 pp 13-14

[Article by Milivoj Dragicevic: "Mature and Dissatisfied"]

[Text] The largest gathering of Yugoslavia's young people has not been a congress offering continuity, nor a congress of changes, as had been announced, but a congress of opposites.

Silvija Zugic-Rijavec, who up until now has been the president of Yugoslav youth, got it right when on the eve of the 12th Congress of the SSOJ she said that this would not be a congress either of continuity or of changes. Judging by the beginning and the first 3 days at the Sava Center in Belgrade, it might be called a congress of opposites.

Attentive observers of the events of the congress have had very frequent occasion to see how fiercely the young delegates attack the exclusive personnel policy, demanding consistent democratization at all levels of organization and decisionmaking, then at the end of the congress answered their own demands with closed slates for the new presidium as well as for the president and secretary. To heighten the irony even more, they favored giving preference to work evaluations over lengthy lists of positions held, but for the 17 members of the presidium and the people who held the leading positions during the last term they offered the most ordinary inventory for the scrutiny of the new conference. As for the president and secretary, here it can be assumed that they are elected according to the established sequence in representing the republics and provinces, and that they have been under a special magnifying glass of personnel officials and their own conferences. But how is one to understand the others!

The delegates also heard many fine words and flowery speeches from the keynote speakers, but of little could they have said that it was done well, consistently, and thoroughly. Even though the correct orientation prevailed to the effect that all social problems are also the problems of young people and that young people should be solving the problems of society, rather than society solving the problems of young people, one gets the impression that the eloquent "high politics" was still a smokescreen for weakness, a lack of organization, or idleness--it matters little which or in what order.

The delegates from Slovenia produced a shock on the very first day of the congress's proceedings. Although they only reiterated the well-known views of their own congress held in Krsko, for many people this was like a bolt from the blue, since because of the "unified" Yugoslav information system they had no idea what the young people from Slovenia had long been advocating. In the heat of the discussion about Youth Day, the peace movements, the death penalty, verbal crimes, strikes, nuclear power plants, and other matters, the essential issues were often forgotten.

The debates about the relay and the celebration of Youth Day were particularly emotional. Jasmina Dezanic poured oil on the fire when she read the petition from Ljubljana University students: "We think the time has come to do away with outdated rituals. The time of the heroes has passed, the time of idealizing young people has passed, the time of blind patriotism has passed. That is why we think that trooping after the relay baton and doing exercises in the stadium are nonsensical," reads the petition signed by about 800 students of Edvard Kardelj University in Ljubljana.

The Slovenian students go on to demand a different form and content of the celebration of Youth Day at the federal level and doing away with the "marathon relay route" and the rally. "Spending money for rituals in which we swear eternal loyalty to some distant and imaginary past constitutes cynical ridicule of all those waiting in line for a job. Euphoric celebration is like throwing sand in their eyes. The motto of this year's event calls upon us to wake up, since something is happening around us, our destiny is being decided. That is all very well, but it is a fact that carrying the torch and having large numbers of people do calisthenics will not advance our destiny by a single centimeter. Such events simply perpetuate the old situation and never change it. Our destiny cannot be decided by swearing an oath of allegiance to Tito, to the party, to history, to the National Liberation Struggle, but only to radical changes," the students write.

They expect that before next year Youth Day will be celebrated differently if what they propose can be called a celebration. Instead of the youth relay they propose a march of the unemployed, instead of the mass exhibition of calisthenics they propose holding meetings against the verbal crime, against the armament of Yugoslavia and other countries, rallies against the "shameful exporting of weapons, rallies in favor of doing civilian military service, public lectures in which young people would debate construction of nuclear power plants, etc. Should their proposals be ignored, they have proposed to the Slovenian Republic Conference of the Socialist Youth League that it not send participants for the concluding event of Youth Day.

They say that this is the result of lengthy reflection on the part of Slovenia's young people. They have supplemented the proposal with the demand that all young people of Yugoslavia find out how much money is going for such events and that it be invested in small production plants instead of large-scale celebrations.

The debate following this could no longer be controlled, nor fortunately was an attempt made in the eruption of disagreement on the one hand and persistence

to prove the correctness of this position on the other. At times there was some heavy name-calling, much like what was in the petition. The delegates were most affected by the insulting words such as "metal baton," "outdated ritual," "blind patriotism," "imaginary past," "grotesque display of calisthenics in a stadium," "cultural scandal," etc. Counterquestions were also posed about whether the alternative meeting proposed from Ljubljana would improve the position of young people by a single centimeter. One participant in the discussion even said cynically that it would, but rightward. And we should also say that no one defended the conception of celebrating the holiday of young people unchanged and untouched. Incidentally, a public debate has also been conducted on this in the youth organization. It was mentioned in that connection that an authentic Yugoslav creative celebration of Youth Day--Yugoslav Meetings of Young People--fell apart ingloriously because it had no more than verbal support, while it was mentioned that the Slovenian Republic Conference of the SSO still had not covered last year's expenses, whereby it had also played its part in its not being held this year (boycott, it was said).

So that everything would not turn in this direction, those who did not want the congress to go in the direction of opposition or to talk exclusively about penalties, crimes, disarmament, and the like came forth. They brought to light lucid observations of young people about the time and space in which they live and the organization they belong to. They also called out the name of the detached youth officials who live in expensive hotels and drive fancy cars, take airplanes and sit in parlor cars, while receiving a good salary. One woman delegate said that they were well paid to clap when others played, others said that they had turned into bureaucrats and had detached themselves from the rank and file and were waiting for a good chance at a better position, remarking that this was no way for young people to go from the periphery to the heart of social developments.

It bothers young people that often they are simply a voting machine. Milojka Cicvaric of Titovo Uzice spoke about the hand which is turned on to cast its vote and then drops when it is turned off. She then said that young people are in turn manipulated even in these delegate elections. Everyone has been saying that there should be more young people just so that they could win the confidence and the votes of young people, she concluded.

The principal cause of dissatisfaction on the part of the young generation can be seen in the high unemployment, numerous deformations, their being neglected and pushed aside, or their being pushed forward when someone needs something to be done. There should be no lying, they said, either about the issues of feminism, ecology, or anything else, but still what bothers them the most is that more than 1.1 million people are unemployed, most of them young.

Other cases of manipulation were also mentioned. Jelena Ivanovic of Krusevac spoke about manipulation of money. This year the reception of the youth relay in Krusevac was down on the list of expenditures for 130 million old dinars "for 5 minutes of the relay and an hour-long program." When they were asked to show the program which was worth that much, the organizers said that they needed the money to cover other expenses. So after all the relay cannot solve the financial condition of young people.

There was also mention of deficiencies in the schools. Ante Puharic of Makarska spoke about the unexemplary teaching of Marxism in which no one spoke to the young people "either about Djilas or Rankovic or about 1968 or about 1971, nor about Kosovo, and they learn everything through doubtful channels of hearsay." Sladjana Novosel said that the system of targeted education was constantly producing all sorts of "personnel," supporting this with the names of occupations like pocket seamstresses and beverage pourers. "Those who have played school," she said, "think that it takes a great art to do those two jobs." And in the campaign for the "young worker--self-manager," according to another source, the three who won first prizes in associated labor were on the average 45 years old.

Finally, one is left with the impression that the delegates were mainly taking positions on the problems of their own community, because, of course, they know them best and they are the ones that bother them the most. Yet still their common denominator is their faith in self-management socialism, which does not mean that they accept everything that happens in practice. Young people still believe in more consistent and profound moral criteria, but it is also evident that their patience has limits. That is why with all the opposites, it can be said of this congress that it is one more link in the chain of greater maturity and consciousness on the part of a young generation which is nevertheless more mature, concerned, and dissatisfied than any that came before it.

7045
CSO: 2800/290

POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

ABOLISHMENT OF CONCEPT OF 'VERBAL CRIME' ADVOCATED

Belgrade STUDENT in Serbo-Croatian 14 May 86 p 6

[Article by Luka Miceta: "Delinquent for Being Eloquent"]

[Text] There are an increasing number of young people, and not only young people, who are wearing a little badge on their lapels which shows the number 133 crossed out. Symbolically this means that they are in favor of abolishing Article 133 of the SFRY Criminal Code; more precisely, they favor abolishing the article which pertains to the verbal crime.

Under that article of our law any expression of a political opinion, without any physical act, is punishable as follows: "if in a letter, leaflet, drawing, speech, or any other manner they maliciously and untruthfully portray sociopolitical conditions in the country...."

This kind of crime is not anything new, nor did we invent it. It might be said that it is as old as the state. After all, it is quite normal and logical for every state and every system and every body of criminal legislation to create a system of coercion that would provide a protective mechanism that will penalize an attack on the system. In that sense even Yugoslavia is no exception at all.

"The shifting of the focus from the theological to the political area formally begins with the law on offense to greatness (*lex de majestate*) which came into being under the tribune Apuleius Saturninus and was first conceived as a means of protection against treason, revolt, or irresponsible conduct of government affairs, but then with Augustus and Tiberius it was twisted from charges for deeds into charges for words, for pejorative writings and satirical poems and thus was used in personal vendettas or defense of the secular cult of the rulers, ruling groups, and ideologies," Slobodan Beljanski has written.

So large a difference in time, and such a great similarity--indeed identity. This is not to be wondered at if we look at what is meant by the Marxist interpretation of the term politics. Namely, in the "Leksikon pojmove klasika marksizma" [Dictionary of Terms in the Classics of Marxism], by M. Filipovic, the term politics means: "...all measures to defend class interests, to strengthen class power, or to wage the struggle to create suitable conditions for taking power in society...."

In that it covers all measures, this ultimately means "lowering the criteria of truth to the ideological framework of day-to-day politics, which becomes subject to destruction of what Kosik has called the world of pseudosincerity, i.e., the world outside essential phenomena, [a world] of manipulation and fetishized practice," Beljanski has put it.

Imports From the USSR

We have imported the basis of our article in the law as well as certain similar ones and many other things from the first country of socialism. The corresponding sections of the Law on Crimes Against the People and State, dated 16 July 1946, is almost identical to Article 110 of the Decree on Crimes Against the State of the Soviet Union dating from 1927, which carries penalties for the crime of "propaganda and agitation containing an appeal to overthrow, undermine, or weaken Soviet power or to carry out individual counter-revolutionary acts."

If that was understandable for 1946 and for a time when the country was crawling with enemies of all stripes and strains, and also when it was a question of receiving directives from Moscow--it cannot be accepted today when the Soviet system and our system differ in their foundations.

In 1958 the USSR got its All-Union Law on Responsibility for Crimes Against the State, whose Article 7 defines the crime of the verbal offense as agitation or propaganda conducted "with the aim of undermining or weakening Soviet power or carrying out certain especially dangerous criminal acts against the state, spreading slanderous fabrications to that end which refer to the state and social system, and also the spreading or creation or possession to that end of literature containing that kind of content."

Just a year later we enriched our own hostile propaganda as defined in Article 118 of the Criminal Code with an addition that provided a penalty for "malicious and untruthful portrayal of sociopolitical conditions in the country," and then in 1973 decided to punish the reproduction, distribution, and possession of propaganda material.

"The obvious source of our inspiration does not mean that we should not take over anything from Soviet law. The question, however, is whether such a provision meets the needs of protecting a self-managed social system and the country's security and whether it cannot be twisted into an impediment to the development of that same self-management system," wonders Prof Djordjije Marjanovic of Skoplje.

Criticizing the view that even a possible intent is sufficient for existence of the crime of hostile propaganda, Prof Ljubo Bavcon of Ljubljana takes this position: "If every statement, drawing or sketch, song, and so on, was a sufficient possible intent that was punishable, then this could mean introducing objective responsibility in that well-known version of the totalitarian regimes in which it is not important what someone has subjectively wanted or thought, but what the statement, article, and so on, objectively means or could mean." The professor also warns about opening up the possibility "for

criminal prosecution of people who are exercising their human right, guaranteed by the constitution, to think and make choices freely and to make all kinds of public expression and statements."

In evaluating the need for the existence of this group of crimes, Marjanovic is categorical: "I consider the crime of hostile propaganda one of those crimes we can do without."

Abuse of the Law

Abuse of these articles of our law is more than possible, as our practice has proven in large measure.

Marjanovic conducted a thought experiment: "The definition of hostile propaganda is written in such a way that it can be interpreted as a survival of punishment for thoughts. It would be possible (and this is not anything invented at all, as we sometimes have been able to read in the newspapers) to "frame somebody for hostile propaganda." To illustrate, let us try to "frame" somebody.

To meet the needs of our illustration we will take a debate in NIN between two of our well-known economists. One of them was asked at one point: "How, for example, has it come about that the working class has lost power to such an extent?"

Now let us make a little logical analysis of this sentence, and it will be almost sufficient to send our debater to jail!

What does the question mean: "How, for example, has it come about that the working class has lost power to such an extent?" This means that to a large, predominant, and immense extent the working class has lost power. If it has lost it, that in turn means that someone who is not the working class has taken that power into its own hands. Further conclusion: Since we say of ourselves that we are a dictatorship of the proletariat, this in turn means that that power has been taken into its hands by some other structure which is not the proletariat. Which means, then, that what we now have in our country is not the dictatorship of the proletariat, but the dictatorship of that structure which has "to such an extent" taken power from the hands of the working class!

Any public prosecutor would say without hesitation that these conclusions, presented in public, "untruthfully portray the sociopolitical conditions in the country." We need only add "evil intent" and we have set someone up for hostile propaganda.

Are such cases possible? They certainly are, and we often have quite a bit of evil intent.

When it comes to political offenses, in most cases one immediately thinks of intellectuals. That is, we suffer from a stereotype when the verbal crime is related a priori to intellectuals.

However, between 1973 and 1981 the makeup of those convicted of political offenses was as follows by occupation: 22 percent industrial and craft and trade workers, 17 percent farmers, and 13 percent specialists. In the breakdown by schooling 60 percent had some elementary schooling, 10 percent were skilled and highly skilled workers, while only 1 out of every 11 had a university degree.

Since we have the "dictatorship of the proletariat" in our country, that means that the workers have stood up against their own government. That is a paradox beyond all doubt. Something for "Believe It or Not."

According to another survey done by Prof Ivan Siber of the School of Political Science in Zagreb, more than half of party members today are not prepared to say in public everything they think: "since they are afraid of the consequences," "do not want to be reproached by the leadership structures," or simply "are merely concerned with their own interests."

All of this indicates that in Yugoslavia today there is a certain neurosis in which critical thought and judgment is taken negatively, while on the other side we have in the socialized sector and in various structures and the party "thieves" and usurpers who are in fact true and orthodox enemies of the country. However, they are the ones least frequently [original reads "most frequently"] tried. And even if it happens, they are "small fry" who quickly get out of prison.

Article 133 Is Anachronistic

I regularly follow the press, and never yet have I seen that anyone has been convicted or has been made to bear our famous "political responsibility for errors" such as "FENI," "Medijapan," and "Obrovaces," and who knows what manner of economic bribery the "fit" comrades have legally got away with with the help of the law and the party.

Here is how Professor Marjanovic looks on this. "Let us imagine an example! Let us say that our security situation in the country at some point, if not very bad, is at least rather bad. I know this, but for certain reasons (in order not to alert the people, say), I persistently and loudly and repeatedly state that our security situation is good. Is this not 'untruthful portrayal of the sociopolitical conditions in the country'? Certainly it is! Could such actions harm the interests of the country? This is better than proven: Remember how harmful such 'embellished' rosy portrayals of security conditions in Kosovo were? Why, then, was there no penalty in such cases? Because it is very difficult to prove 'evil intent' of a man in power. He always does what he does with the best intentions.

"But if it is so difficult to prove 'evil intent' of a man in power, how then is it now so easy to prove in the case of an ordinary man?

"What would our choice be in such dilemmas?

"It would be that this definition of the crime should be abolished! Criminal law should provide punishment for an open appeal for violent and unconstitutional activity against Yugoslavia. This is punishable everywhere in the civilized world. But for those who have bad intentions or even evil intent in evaluating our society as a living organism, it is my profound belief, the sanctions of a moral nature of our self-managed socialist society will be quite sufficient. Those who without evil intent think otherwise and speak otherwise we will refute by the very force of our arguments. It has not been said that in those debates we will not discover any new truths. It has been said: relativism is an intellectual prerequisite of democracy. I would add: even a *conditio sine qua non* in our aspirations to the truth."

In conclusion it should be said that Article 133 and similar articles of our Criminal Code have become anachronistic and cannot in any way fit into the democratic society which is being built in Yugoslavia and are directly opposed to the idea of the pluralism of interests. Kardelj himself pointed out that it is sufficient for us not to discriminate between the activity of an enemy and the necessary and permitted expression of different views within the framework of self-management pluralism.

Matos would have said: "We are not going to ruin because we lack a government, but because we lack an opposition."

7045

CSO: 2800/289

POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

SLOVENIAN OPINION RESEARCH OFFICE CLOSED DOWN

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 18 May 86 p. 28-29

[Article by Slobodanka Ast: "A Broken Mirror"]

[Text] A few days ago there was an unpleasant barb in the Slovenian press about the most numerous organization of workers: "The trade union is a party machine for the production of apathy."

The pretext: Immediately before commencement of the republic conference the Presidium of the Council of the Federation of Slovenian Trade Unions abolished its Center for Research on Self-Management in a manner that was extremely unsuitable to self-management: behind closed doors, under the topic "Miscellaneous" on the agenda, in the absence of the researchers--that is, in a total self-management vacuum.

A bit of irony: The resolution of the 11th Congress of Slovenian Trade Unions states: "Only highly developed scientific research capable of answering the questions of the future can be the basis of our future development!"

The open letter to the public, which NIN has written about, states that the leadership of the trade union has not given a real explanation for closing the center down.

In an interview with NIN the researchers Lidija Mohar, Zivka Crnivec, Peter Mometi, Valentin Jez, and Ferdinand Dvornik allowed an examination of their bibliography over just the last several years since they have been at the center: more than 200 independent papers, and just in the last trade union term of office 14 sizable publications in the library "Horizons of Self-Management." Professionally and also politically it is clear to any reader who is at all literate that these are significant studies of our contradictory reality: There is hardly any very essential sphere of the life and work of the 800,000 Slovenian workers which the Center for Research on Self-Management has not analyzed. Incidentally, during the 2 decades of this institution's existence it has even gained an enviable international reputation. It appears, however, that trade union officials were not pleased by the results of certain studies. How otherwise to explain that some were halted in mid-course, others "filed away," or even, like reading matter on the index librorum prohibitorum--destroyed?

Why Do They Strike?

Some of the disputed studies, such as one by Lidiya Mohar about so-called work stoppages, are part of an extremely valuable contribution to Yugoslav sociology. This study cast serious doubt on certain generally accepted assessments; Lidiya Mohar proves that strikes do not occur exclusively in OOUR's where the persons employed have low personal incomes. Her analysis turns the problem upside down: In Slovenia at the present time the strikes occurring have to do with emancipation, so that there are strikes even by workers (in the port of Kopar) who have good earnings but are dissatisfied with the organization of work, who feel themselves disenfranchised, outside the flows of decisionmaking. The leaders of the Slovenian trade union did not like this study, and it ended up "filed away," even though this measure was preceded by a professional discussion which resulted in unambiguous support for the young sociologist's research.

It is like something out of "Believe It or Not" that the study entitled "Worker Opinions of Socioeconomic Development and the Role of the Trade Unions," say, which was commissioned and done for the 10th Congress of Slovenian Trade Unions, experienced the same fate. To be sure, 64 copies of that publication went out as "strictly confidential" material to opstina trade unions, while the remainder of the printing, so we were told by the researchers, was "dispatched to Vilce," the paper factory not far from Ljubljana where this documented panorama of the views of Slovenian workers went to the shredder.

Also put on ice was the study of Ferdinand Dvornik about the lowest personal incomes and minimal standard of living, which discovered an unpleasant fact about our most highly developed republic: Several thousand families (which even have fewer than four members and more than two members employed) are still earning barely enough so that their regular earnings cover only 87 percent of the minimal cost of living! We should mention that these are the families of unskilled, but also skilled workers.

The politically far less delicate study of the change of working hours also ended up in the drawer marked "permanent embargo." It turned out that the workers were opposed to this innovation. Those elements which had made a "self-management decision" to the contrary did not allow themselves to be confused by the sound objections that the schedule changes had not been synchronized with the operation of day nurseries, schools, stores, and public transportation.

Removed or Promoted

Probably aware of the unpopularity with the public evoked by the decision to dissolve the Center for Research on Self-Management after its 20 years of effective work, the trade union officials offered the public a few explanations after a lengthy period of silence.

For NIN: It is not a question of abolishing, but of transforming the center, specifically attaching it to the "Edvard Kardelj" Yugoslav Center for the

Theory and Practice of Self-Management. The research team, we were told, would strengthen this institution, which had not yet fully affirmed itself and which had had great difficulties with personnel and financing. Some would be assigned to other jobs. In any case, Francka Herga, who during the last term was vice chairwoman of the Council of the Federation of Slovenian Trade Unions and chairwoman of the center's council until July (she herself had approved all the studies), was nominated as a member of the Federal Executive Council.

We are left in a quandary: How can researchers whose work was not satisfactory on the assertion of the trade union officials strengthen the "Edvard Kar-delj" Center? That is, it is said in criticism of the researchers that their studies were too fundamental, good over the long run, but not good enough for short-term application??

The final decision is soon to be made on the future of the Center for Research on Self-Management and that of the researchers themselves.

Bad Connections

Those people are probably right who think that the hullabaloo in the Slovenian press and public over this case is after all exaggerated. Yet it seems that this is a typical case study of the attitude of politics toward research and toward science in general.

It can be said that there has been a unique phenomenon for years now--the secret study of public opinion. More and more surveys end up in the drawer, and less and less frequently are the results published from important scientific analyses, though this is one of the prerequisites for emerging from the crisis. At the same time, there is less and less money for scientific research in this area. Belgrade, for example, seems to be the only capital in Europe which is not studying its public opinion. Unfortunately, no surveys are being done in certain much broader parts of Yugoslav territory. Should we mention at all that this institution is an important achievement of civilization and an inescapable document of the spirit of the times? It is paradoxical that as a society which aspires to high ideals of direct democracy we do not rely somewhat more on the opinion of the people.

Certainly the reasons are not exclusively economic--nothing is more expensive than ignorance. The decisive thing seems to be the role of the bureaucracy, which likes secrecy and has no qualms about trying to shape public opinion. It is incredible, that is, that 5 years after the outbreak of the counterrevolution in Kosovo there should not have been a single scientific or empirical study of the events in that province.

The manner in which science is financed has also brought this sphere into a state of total dependence on the political powers-that-be, which love above all to hear the echo of their own voice (Is there any need to recall the studies about the criteria of underdevelopment?).

In the opinion of Dr Vladimir Goati, the main problem in the relationship between science and politics is the "bad connections" made by people in the

scientific community, modern centaurs: In politics they are considered scientists, in the scientific community politicians. As a rule not very bright, but very obedient. Dr Slaven Letica also talks about the "phenomenon of medium-range intellectuals who exactly fit the bill for general practitioners in the field of politics." Professional associations, Goati emphasizes, ought to be the intermediary between science and politics.

Social Cosmetics

And thus in the meantime our social sciences are often criticized, perhaps rightly so, for not taking a sufficiently analytical approach to reality, for doing analyses which are fragmentary and lapidary.

Reality brings along new troubles, but also new opportunities. Do we know how to take advantage of them? This wise question has been put by the dean of our sociology Josip Zupanov. He also provides the answer:

"Social pathology is not the real problem.... The real problem is the absence of an attitude of self-criticism and openness."

In general, how much do we as a society respect the word of science? One of the wonderful Peter principles might run as follows applied to our everyday life: "In our country everyone knows more than the one who knows." And that is the way it will be so long as politics respects the voice of medium-range intellectuals and those modern centaurs, so long as there is almost no financing for large and important scientific projects on a broad scale in Yugoslavia, so long as those few scientific analyses end up in the drawers of groups and individuals who believe that they have a privileged right to criticism and analysis. At one time an embargo was placed even on studies of public opinion like the one entitled "What do you think about the reform of the secondary school?" Even today there are studies waiting for the "right moment," although there could never be any better moment. But political voluntarism is bothered by the methodological hardheadedness of science, arbitrary authority is allergic to critical reassessment. It would like to compress reality into ideally devised schemes, and if reality does not agree with principles, to paraphrase Hegel, so much the worse for reality.

Is what has happened to the group of Slovenian researchers an attempt to push professional and critical intellectuals out to the margins and to bring in other more "upotrebitelni" [Russian, "ordinary"] intellectuals with that special logic of the "apparat" who without getting into the practice of science will issue another brighter and apologetic picture of reality? Have we been standing too long in front of the mirror and when we ask "mirror, mirror..." and expecting the answer we want, which unfortunately we have been getting too often?

7045
CSO: 2800/294

POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

'INDEPENDENT' SLOVENIAN CITIZENS--They call themselves "an independent group of citizens engaged in public, journalistic, scholarly, and artistic work," and include Draga Ahacic, Vladimir Dedijer, Drago Jancar, Manca Kosir, Darko Strajn, Veno Taufer, and Vinko Vasle. On their own initiative this "group of citizens," according to a report in the Ljubljana DNEVNIK, has given out "rosy" and "black" awards for press articles published in the past year. Tomaz Mastnak was decorated with a "rosy" award (and for what meritorious service!) because he "especially contributed to affirming the concept of a civil society" and Matevz Krivic "for his support of freedom and rights, as well as for [his support of] the historical truth about Goli Otok, the Dachau trials, and the massacre at Rog. Special awards were also given to the Court of Honor of the Slovenian Journalists Association, to the editors of MLADINA and those of TELEKS, Radio-Student, and the foreign policy editors of DELO. A "black" award was given to Jozef Volfand for his idea of public dialogue, and to Stane Dolanc "as representative of that public political office which supports repressive logic even by putting pressure on the courts." [In a letter to the editor published on page 4 of the 1 July 1986 issue of Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian, Draga Ahacic, president of the above citizens' group, explained that Krivic had received his award for publicizing the uncovering of the above-cited truths "especially in a polemic with Mitja Ribicic." Ahacic also said that the negative award to Stane Dolanc was based "especially on his statement in 1985 on potential internal enemies who are linked to our emigres and other outside enemies, as well as his statements which deny the legitimacy of intellectual criticism."] [Excerpt] [Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 17 Jun 86 p 6] /9604

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT--A wave of discussion about the death penalty has again hit Yugoslavia. Now for the first time "swords were crossed" from the podium of the recently held Youth Congress of Yugoslavia when a group of Slovenian delegates supported the elimination of the death penalty, because, as it was stressed several times, "it is not compatible with our socialist self-management system." Yugoslav society, nevertheless, for the present believes the death penalty to be a necessary evil. In the past 13 years courts have handed down 43 death sentences. Ten years ago [in 1976] seven, the largest number, were handed down, while in 1982, not one. In Slovenia no one has received a death sentence since 1957. Between 1973 and 1982 94 percent of the death sentences were handed down for murder

and only in one case for a crime against the basis of the social order and against human and internationality rights. In federal organs it is asserted that there are no data on the execution of death sentences because republics and provinces are responsible for this. Death sentences are handed down more often than carried out. It is estimated that one to two a year are carried out. Based on what has been published in the press, the last execution occurred 2 years ago, while in 1978 and 1979 four executions were carried out each year. [Excerpt] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 23 Jun 86 p 3] /9604

SYMPOSIUM ON FAMILY PLANNING--On 13 June the 8th Symposium of Gynecologists of Yugoslavia opened in Pristina under the auspices of the Kosovo Assembly and in the presence of representatives of sociopolitical organizations of Kosovo Province and opstinas. The group, which dealt with the questions of fertility and sterility, was welcomed by Prof Dr Dzemalj Ahmedin, president of the gynecological section of the Kosovo Physicians Association. The basic theme of the symposium was devoted to methods of family planning and was not solely aimed at [the question of] reducing the number of births but at [encouraging] desired births and child health. In this context the ever-more pronounced problem of births among minors was discussed. Academician and Professor Berislav Beric stressed that the question of family planning is an imperative one at present which should be aimed at humane population reproduction and not the bearing of children by children. Svetislav Dolasevic, president of the Kosovo Assembly, noted that family planning has special importance for the province, because of the high birthrate of the population. He said that doctors and teachers should draw from this symposium the message that unwanted children should not become also a social problem. [Excerpt] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 14 Jun 86 p 4] /9604

CSO: 2800/307

SOCIOLOGY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPC PLANS FAMILY EXCHANGES PRIOR TO COPENHAGEN CONGRESS

AU301033 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 26 June on page 2 carries a 400-word "KB"-signed report headlined "Prior to the Copenhagen Congress," on a press conference held by representatives of the Czechoslovak Peace Committee [CPC] in Prague on 25 June.

The report states that the CPC chairman, academician Bedrich Svestka, told those present that the "pivotal action of the international year of peace" will be the "World Congress" in Copenhagen.

Svestka reportedly said that the Czechoslovak Preparatory Committee has been trying to "activate the entire Czechoslovak public" with the aim of making it accept the Copenhagen Congress as its own, and to have people contribute to the consolidation of the peace and antiwar movement, and he stressed all that unites people in various countries is their approach to the questions of war and peace.

"In the interest of a common cause and a greater capability of action, the CPC is also developing its international activity. Above all, it has been linking up with the contacts of the Prague Peace Assembly. And in addition to the movements in the socialist countries, it maintains close and creative relations with peace organizations and groups in the FRG, and has contacts with those who defend peace in Austria; recently its delegation again had talks in Britain, and a group of Danes is in the CSSR now. There is a search for new forms and methods of activity and of getting to know one another such as, for example, an exchange of families, including children," Svestka is quoted as saying.

/12858
CSO: 2400/329

SOCIOLOGY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CATHOLICS GATHER FOR ANNUAL PILGRIMAGE

100,000 Expected

HK040941 Hong Kong AFP in English 0911 GMT 4 Jul 86

[Text] Vienna, 4 July (AFP)--About 100,000 people are expected to take part this weekend in an annual pilgrimage organized by the Roman Catholic Church of Czechoslovakia in eastern Slovakia.

The gathering, the only one of its size not organized by the Communist authorities, has come to symbolize the only real force of opposition to the regime.

Last year, the church mobilized 100,000 people for the event, in Levoca, 600 kilometers (360 miles) east of Prague. The faithful will camp out Saturday night on a hilltop beside makeshift confessional booths under trees.

An additional 150,000 Catholics took part in another pilgrimage last year in southern Moravia to mark the 1,100th anniversary of the death of Saint Methodius, Apostle of the Slavs.

About 10 million of Czechoslovakia's 16 million population are members of the Roman Catholic Church.

Annual Pilgrimage

AU061404 Paris AFP in English 1125 GMT 6 Jul 86

[Text] Levoca, Czechoslovakia, 6 July (AFP)--More than 100,000 Czechoslovak Catholics, many of them young people, converged this weekend on a hill near this eastern Slovakian village for an annual pilgrimage.

The pilgrims, who arrived Saturday in scorching weather, stopped to pray and rest at small chapels lining the two-kilometer (one-mile rocky way of the cross to the hilltop), 600 kilometers (360 miles) east of Prague. [numbers as received] They camped on the hillside and queued overnight Saturday for confession at makeshift confessional booths.

The Czechoslovak authorities have in the past year shown concern about increased religious activity among the young and have arrested Catholic militants, sources in Czechoslovakia said. Two-thirds of Czechoslovakia's 16 million people are Catholics.

A strong police force sealed off Levoca, but did not intervene. Last year's pilgrimage assembled a similar crowd.

/12858
CSO: 2400/329

SOCIOLOGY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CATHOLICISM SYNONYMOUS WITH 'MORTAL THREATS' TO CSSR

LD042114 Prague International Service in English 1630 GMT 4 Jul 86

[Jaroslav Sturma commentary: "Rehabilitation of John Huss"]

[Text] Five hundred and seventy-one years ago on 6 July 1415, having been condemned as a heretic, Master John Huss, the famous Czech thinker, preacher and religious reformer was burned at the stake in Constance. The elders of the omnipotent Roman Catholic Church sentenced him to death for his failure to renounce before the Council of Constance his criticism of evils committed by the church hierarchy and his teaching favoring the introduction of a mandatory principle of social justice and humanism which would make it the oppressed man's right and duty to oppose and challenge the ruling class if it failed to embrace this principle.

We are not going to assess the full impact of John Huss, or Jan Hus to use the Czech form of his name, on both national and international history. Rather, we want to examine one particular aspect, namely that now after 5 centuries, 3 score and 11 years the Vatican is considering to rehabilitate Huss. Catholic circles now assume that their dogmatic look at this medieval reformer is no longer acceptable. Thus, the Austrian Catholic weekly magazine, DIE FURCHE, has described Huss not only as the Czech Luther but a respected national hero as well. His flaming death presaged or indeed amply illustrated the profoundly anti-Catholic feelings of the Czech people. In Czech history John Huss and the Hussite movement figure as progressive patriotic phenomena whereas Catholicism has always borne the stigma of servant to alien powers. DIE FURCHE concluded that to rehabilitate Huss would mean to reconcile the Czech nation to the Roman Catholic Church. This shows that the Catholic circles which have taken up the issue of rehabilitation seek neither historical truths nor justice. The fact that the rehabilitation of John Huss is currently an issue in the Vatican testifies to a different reality. Catholicism proved unable to tame the Czechs by crude force so why not give it another try, this time by flattery? What about declaring the Council of Constance a bunch of deviants from the true faith and potential assassins and pronouncing John Huss a saint?

Is there anything to be added? The Vatican has for centuries been on the side of forces threatening our national independence. Catholicism is a

synonym for elements which have posed mortal threats to our bare existence and our language. On the eve of World War II Catholicism was a symbol of dismantling the unity of Czech and Slovaks. Catholic circles created a breakaway fascist regime in Slovakia with the aim of breaking the fraternal bonds between two fraternal nations so that they could become an easy prey for Hitler. During the bleak years of Nazi occupation Czechoslovak army outfits fighting abroad, guerrilla units and illegal resistance cells in the occupied country took on the name of John Huss. The name, for centuries linked with our struggle for social progress and national independence, which the Vatican knows only too well. Hence its current drive to get a slice of this tradition by incapacitating the Hussite legacy in the eyes of believers and removing this formidable obstacle to its influence in Czechoslovakia. If the Vatican braces itself for the uneasy task of rehabilitating Huss after more than 5 centuries since his violent death, then this shows that the inventory of the bourgeois unholy alliance against socialism is lamentably poor, consisting largely of nationalism and religion and very little beyond that. Hence all the nationalism cum coquetry campaign around John Huss.

/12858

CSO: 2400/329

SOCIOLOGY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

HAVLIN ON NEED FOR CHANGE AT UNIVERSITIES

AU301302 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Jun 86 p 2

[Report on speech by Josef Havlin, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at a nationwide aktiv of party and state functionaries of CSSR colleges and universities, held in Prague on 26 June, on their tasks after the 17th CPCZ Congress]

[Excerpts] The time has come to transfer discussions about the further development of our institutions of higher learning from the plane of quantitative discussions to the plane of qualitative development. It will be necessary to draw up a fundamental concept for the development of the system of higher education in the next 2 to 3 decades and, within its framework, to come to terms sensitively with a certain discrepancy between the tradition of the system of higher education and the new needs and functions which it should satisfy and discharge.

The problems of the further development of our society within the framework of the development of the entire socialist society, including the problems of university education, are so new that their solution precludes the use of present methods, availing themselves of rigid thought patterns. One has to take into account relatively rapid changes of the economic and also social climate. From this follows the need to deepen and improve the quality of prognostic activity.

We must anticipate that along with the changing requirements of the production processes, labor productivity growth, a rise in the efficiency of production, and the intensification of the reproduction process, the need will also arise for new qualifications. The task of dealing with the structure of university education is exceedingly topical, important, and responsible. We must, above all, once again speedily and thoroughly review the targets and quality of the tuition that we offer today. In doing so, we should pursue the following principle--not to create new structures in the place of the present structures, but to establish prerequisites for a flexible and continuous adaptation of individual fields of study and their entire structures to the needs of social development.

Universities cannot be merely institutions for handing over facts and information. One must progress more and more from teaching facts to teaching

methods. The aim of university studies is to develop the students' qualities and talents so as to permit them to analyze facts, to assess them critically, and to use them independently. What matters is the promotion of the ability to work independently and creatively and the cultivation of the urge to pursue further self-education in order to keep abreast of the development of science and technology.

Requirements stemming from the needs of developing science and technology can no longer be ensured within the framework of traditional forms of cooperation between universities and production enterprises, nor even within the framework of the recently applied comprehensive forms of this cooperation. Numerous difficulties and shortcomings that are apparent even today point to the need to introduce new, improved, progressive, integrated systems of cooperation. Experience acquired in some socialist countries, especially in the USSR, shows that within the framework of these entities it is possible to adapt material, financial, and human resources far more flexibly to the specific conditions of individual research teams and to the specific nature of the scientific-research tasks solved by them.

It will be necessary to set up special, purpose-oriented research and application workplaces attached to universities and enterprises, such as branches of university departments in manufacturing plants, special departments or faculties for the requalification of university and secondary school graduates, as well as centers providing scientific-technical information and services. It will also be quite indispensable to align the organization and content of production practice, study-and-training programs, and end-of-the-year and diploma theses to the specific needs of production.

We constantly speak about the need for a new mode of people's thinking, and for taking the offensive in the struggle for the consistent implementation of our adopted policy. But do we actually prepare the graduates of our higher educational establishments for these qualities? Are we not consigning them to some kind of self-service on these issues? These problems are worth pondering, as well as the adoption of measures to make sure that a young man entering working life will not let himself be intimidated by life, but will be prepared to cope with its pitfalls.

In concluding, Josef Havel voiced the conviction that the aktiv made a contribution to the unifying of views and the course of action in executing the tasks at the universities.

/12858
CSO: 2400/329

SOCIOLOGY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CSSR DAILY REFUTES BRNO AIRPORT RUMORS

AU081440 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Jul 86 p 3

/Jaroslav Kojzar article: "Such Are Facts"/

/Text/ A few weeks ago, Brno got excited over the following report: Some 7,000 inhabitants will have to move out from the area around the airport, from Turany, Brnenske Ivanovice, Holasky, and Slapanice. Allegedly the territorial planning and architecture department, attached to the Brno City National Committee, has begun implementing one of the antinoise measures adopted last November. The explanation noted that the noise made by aircraft is greater than permitted by the norm.

At that time, an official American radio broadcast a report saying that "the reason for this extraordinary action, which will affect perhaps 50-60,000 people, is the planned expansion of Brno airport, which is to be changed in the future in such a way as to make its new runway also serve the largest Soviet bombers." In the vacated homes, which won't have to be demolished, Soviet officers are to be housed with their families."

This "report," variously distorted, was also adopted by other bourgeois information media.

In April, Austria's KURIER expanded the guaranteed sensational information with additional "discoveries": "The Pilgrimage church in Turany is to be torn down, and a large, closed-off military zone is to be created around the airport." Similar nonsense also cropped up elsewhere.

What was this really all about?

On the basis of a simplified assessment of facts ascertained from the measurement of noise levels in the first noise zone, some state agencies decided to resolve the situation by gradually relocating the local population. Only a few dozen people were affected by the eviction order /vymer/. But this took place before elections and this rumor thus came in handy. Facts were blown up, they were given a different bent, and an "argument" was here.

But what was the real situation?

It was the same as in the case of other airports. We can, at random, name Prague-Kbely, Bratislava-Vajnory, Kosice, Sliac, or any other airport in the CSSR and beyond the borders of our state that is located in the vicinity of a large settlement.

Let us, therefore, recall several basic facts so as to be able to comprehend the situation that has arisen. Originally, soon after the liberation the military airfield in Brno has begun to be used for a great part for civilian purposes. Since civil aviation was restricted for reasons of economy at the end of the 1970's, the airfield was again made available for military purposes, even though--according to a 1984 agreement--civil aircraft can land there at times of fairs or exhibitions, or for tourist services and so forth. For this reason, by the way, it has also been decided to build a terminal and other facilities necessary for such operations.

In an interview with the regional daily ROVNOST, Vladimir Herman, candidate member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and leading secretary of the party regional committee, said that "one did not and does not consider" expanding the airfield, "or increasing its traffic."

Even before that the relevant agencies had devoted themselves to citizens' reminders about the noise. And it has been decided to carry out only a certain number of training flights, the hour when flying is to end has been determined, a matter that--understandably--does not apply to exceptional situations arising from our Air Force's duty to defend our air space. Also the number of starts and landings has been reduced. In spite of this an eviction order /vymer/ was sent without the knowledge of the city's and region's party agencies. Within a brief span of time, some Western information media blew up this fact up into a fantastic proportions. Out of tens they made tens of thousands, out of the terminal the further great expansion of the existing airfield, and out of the places "which our citizens must vacate" they made "new houses for Soviet pilots and their families." There were no better arguments for a possible disruption of the elections in Brno. But the open appearances by Comrades Herman, leading Secretary of the CPCZ City Committee Karel Urbanek, and other city and regional functionaries, including the decision to modify the nonsensical intent /zmenit nesmyslny zamer/, calmed the stormy Brno surface again. The "Brno case" could be laid to rest.

There is a lesson in all this, however. An insensitive approach to the solution of any problem does not pay. It simply had to elicit reaction. It has also become the foundation for another campaign against us. And since citizens in Prague, Plzen, Ostrava, or Bratislava do not know the plans of the local bodies, it is at the same time possible to evoke emotions for a long time to come. This was the reasoning of the Western centers. Therefore "information" about the Brno airfield is still cropping up to this day. The bubble has burst, however. But there was no need at all for it ever to have come into being.

/12228
CSO: 2400/339

END



END OF

FICHE

DATE FILMED

27 AUGUST 1986